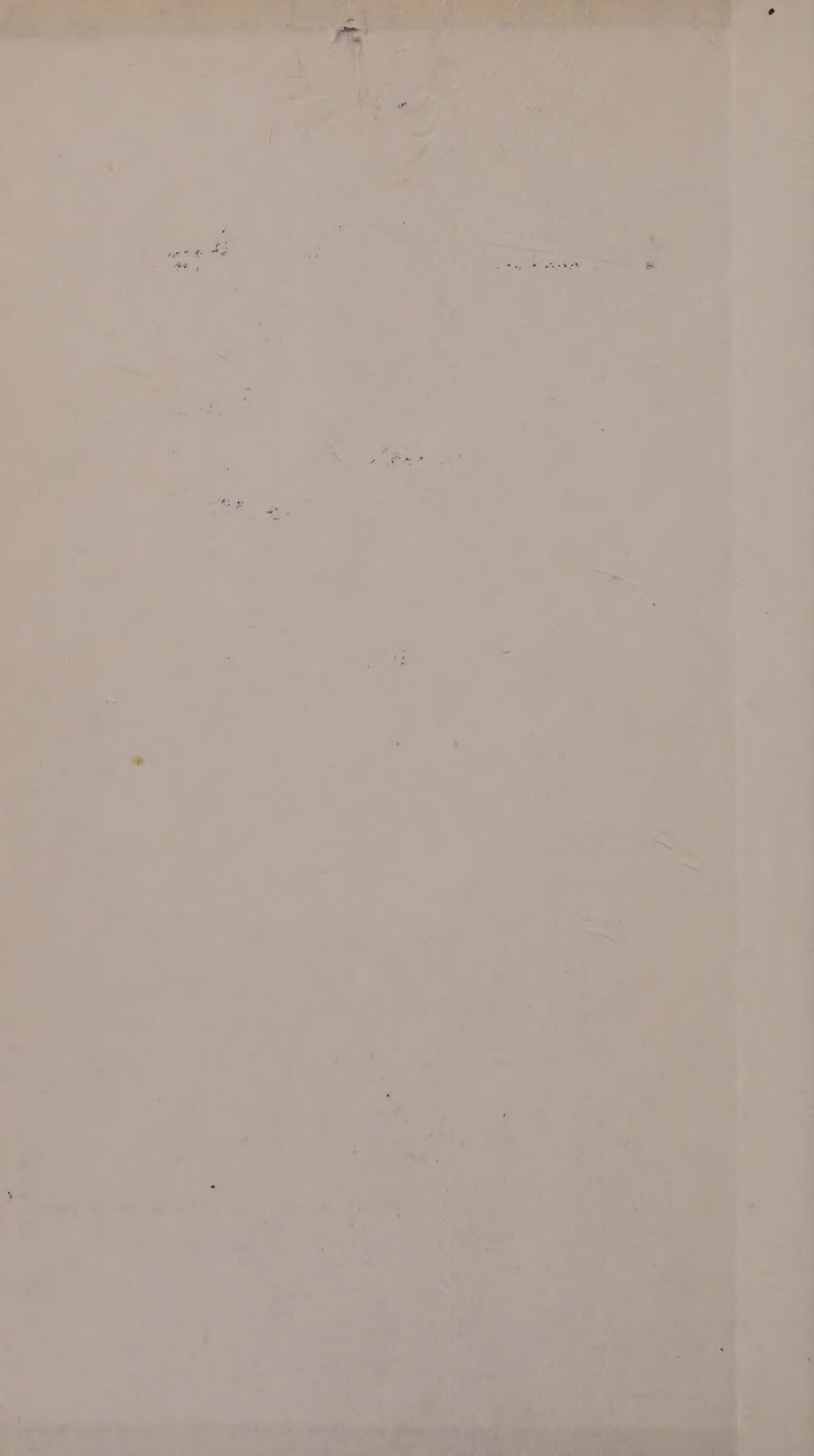


THE HISTORY OF
BURNLEY
PART III

BY
W. BENNETT



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The
History of Burnley
1650 to 1850.

By W. BENNETT, M.A.

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The

History of Burnley

1620 to 1850

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By W. BENNETT, M.A.

Preface.

This book deals with the history of Burnley during its development from market town to manufacturing centre and shows the conditions under which Burnley people lived during the period 1650-1850. A chapter on Towneley has not been included because the Towneley deeds will shortly be available for public examination and will provide new material for a detailed history of the Towneley family and its estates. Information from such a source will be given, it is hoped, in the last section of this History of Burnley.

Once more I have to express my indebtedness to the great and unfailing kindness of Dr. G. H. Tupling, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Local History at Manchester University, Mr. G. A. Wood, M.A., of Burnley, and Mr. W. Stuttard, B.A., of the Burnley Grammar School. Dr. Tupling has given a great deal of time to reading and criticising the typescript and the incorporation of his valuable suggestions has enhanced the value of the material; Mr. Wood and Mr. Stuttard have given me much valuable help in the arrangement of the book and have made it more readable. Many other friends have assisted me in various ways: Mr. E. Wood, J.P., and Mr. T. Horner have given me information about the cotton industry 1800-1850; Mr. J. Stanworth of Reedley, the Exors. of Moses Hargreaves of Burnley, Councillor S. Taylor of Burnley, Mr. J. Atkin of Bridge Street, Burnley, and Messrs. A. Jobling and Son of Burnley, have loaned me deeds, accounts, minute books, and other private documents; Mrs. Barrowclough of Fence, has given permission for the publication of a handloom weavers' diary; Mr. L. Lang of Burnley, has provided photographic prints for the illustrations. I have also to thank the officials of the Public Record Office, the County Record Office, and the Manchester Libraries for their co-operation; in Burnley, the officials of the Town Hall, the Central Library, and Towneley Hall have very willingly and at great pains given me all the help I have so often wanted. I also wish to thank many other friends, too numerous to mention by name, for their encouragement and keenness to assist.

Particularly to my wife I want to express my deep appreciation of her support and inspiration over the many years during which this History has been in course of compilation.

Finally, I wish to thank the Burnley Borough Council for again undertaking the publication of a further section of the History of Burnley.

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CHAPTER I.

Burnley, 1650-1700.

GENERAL SURVEY.

Before proceeding with the study of the long history of Burnley's growth and development, it is perhaps advisable to note the landmarks in the town's progress during the first eight-and-a-half centuries of its existence.

Founded about the year 800, Burnley had by 1300 shown some indications of its future importance. A weekly market and yearly fair had been established; a fulling mill had been erected; and industries other than farming had been introduced. During the period 1300-1650, growth was more rapid for there was a considerable increase in population with a corresponding expansion of the village groups and the building of numerous cottages and farmhouses in the neighbouring countryside. By 1650, the land had been freed from the control of the lord of the manor, enclosure of the commons had taken place, and ground that even in 1620 had been rough or boggy moorland had been transformed into tillage, well-limed and manured, with new farmsteads testifying to the rising prosperity of the farmers: in addition, the manufacture of textiles had increased substantially and coalmining had provided a new source of wealth.

Important social changes had also taken place, for the great religious and political controversies of the 16th and 17th centuries had not passed over Burnley without leaving their mark. Among local families party feeling often ran high, producing strife and bitterness. Zeal and devotion for one cause or the other developed individual strength of character and inculcated a sense of responsibility. This spirit of self-reliance had been fostered also by the growth of a certain measure of local self-government, which, though limited by the ever-widening authority of the J.P.s and other county officers, was a source of pride to the townsmen of Burnley.

Still greater changes were to come after 1650. The increase of population and the expansion of trade continued with even greater acceleration and the hitherto separate groups of houses at the Top o' th' Town and Westgate merged into one. However, it was not until the Industrial Revolution at the very end of the 18th century that the vastly increased scale of production of textiles and coal

caused an almost meteoric rise in the size and importance of the town. The 19th century saw the last stages in the development of Burnley from a remote and inaccessible mediaeval hamlet to a modern and commercial centre.

BURNLEY IN 1650.

Burnley in 1650 was a small but thriving market town. Its population numbered about 1,500, and its industries were those that were common in Stuart times to every northern community. Farming absorbed most of the available labour, but there were many craftsmen such as spinners and weavers, masons, carpenters, coopers, blacksmiths, shoemakers and tanners; the records also mention a gardener, a musician and even a ballad seller.

Burnley was still isolated from large centres of population. Its chief industry, the woollen trade, was more closely connected with Yorkshire than with Lancashire, and Halifax was far more important to this district than was Manchester. The town was largely self-supporting, for Burnley shoemakers made footwear from Burnley leather, Burnley tailors made clothes from Burnley cloth, and local stone and timber were used to make the houses and furniture for them. There was an export trade from Burnley in woollen and linen goods and in cattle, but the regular imports into the town were limited to those commodities which could not be produced in the district, such as sugar, salt, tar, Irish yarn. Some luxuries, e.g., silk, trinkets, foreign fruits, salt fish, could be obtained in the market or from itinerant pedlars, while rich people could stock their kitchens, dining rooms, wardrobes and libraries by sending their servants to make purchases in the larger and more distant towns and markets.

To get a general impression of the "lay-out" of the township of Burnley as it existed in the second half of the 17th century, we must visualise two small villages, one near the Church and the other at Westgate. We must then imagine farmsteads and enclosed fields covering the whole of the areas of Stoneyholme, Ightenhill, the Summit, the Ridge, Walshaw and Reedley Hallows. Some of the farmhouses, built within the preceding hundred years to replace much older ones, were large, well proportioned and beautifully designed. Many others that had been erected within the previous thirty years were small, plain, rather ugly, and often whitewashed to make them look more attractive. Nearly every farmhouse had at least one cottage built on to it or close by.

THE TOP O' TH' TOWN.

Improvements made at various times since 1650 have completely altered the appearance of this district near the Church. St. Peter's of course stood on its present site, but the churchyard, enclosed by a low wall, extended over much of what is now the roadway. The entrance into the burial ground was through a lychgate where the priest waited to receive and bless the dead before they were carried into the sacred ground. Near the lychgate, there were one or two one-roomed, thatched cottages and "Old Crossley's Farm" complete with dunghill.⁽¹⁾ The old chantry house in the churchyard had been taken down in 1603, and in its place a building of two storeys had been erected, which housed the Grammar School on the top floor and one of Towneley's tenants on the ground floor.⁽²⁾ The approach to the building was by a paved pathway through the churchyard between the river-wall and an inner wall.⁽³⁾

Across the roadway, which was little more than $3\frac{1}{4}$ yards wide,⁽⁴⁾ and roughly at the bottom of the present Ormerod Road, stood the market cross and stocks. The cross consisted of a tall shaft rising from a heavy stone pedestal raised on the broad steps that surrounded it. The stocks were situated only a foot or two away from the steps of the cross, and probably nearby was the whipping post. The small space round the cross was the market place, and here, three roads met: (a) Godley Lane, which ran to the right of Ormerod Road in the direction of Forest Street; (b) Fenkel Street,⁽⁵⁾ which joined what was called "Burnley Lane," near the present Cannons; (c) Burnley Street,⁽⁶⁾ now called Church Street.

Behind and to the right of the market cross was the 16th century "Old Sparrow Hawk" with its adjoining house, and immediately behind the inn was the smithy and shoeing forge with a shed for the carts and implements waiting for repairs. To the left of the cross and in front of the Talbot, were the "Old Houses,"⁽⁷⁾ which appear to have been built at various times. The oldest one bore the date of "1665," but its ceiling beams had once formed part of a still older house;⁽⁷⁾ two others appear to have been built about the same time, but the house facing Godley Lane probably dated from the early 18th century. The Talbot, originally called "The Parker Arms,"⁽⁸⁾ was built in the second half of the 17th century on land that belonged to

1. See p. 29.

2. Grammar School documents.

3. See p. 29.

4. Ibid.

5. Ch. Reg. p. 287.

6. Ch. Reg.

7. Illus. Pt. II 252.

8. Baines' Directory 1824.

the Parker family; it had a plain exterior, was three storeys high, and had some of its rooms panelled in oak. Further up Godley Lane there were two or three cottages, one of which bore the date of "1657."⁽⁹⁾ Between the Parker Arms and the Brun was a house belonging to the Bank Hall estate, with "its gable end facing the upper cross."⁽¹⁰⁾ In front of, or behind, this house began Shorey Lane, which ran close to the river to "Whittaker's Cottage" and to "Whittaker's Well," thence to Heasandford and by a footpath to Briercliffe. Whittaker's Well, or "Shorey Well" as it was later known, was situated on the river bank opposite Dawson Square, and was apparently the only public source of drinking water for the inhabitants of the Top o' th' Town.

The bridge over the river was maintained by the County and was a constant source of expense. In 1648 the inhabitants of Burnley asked that the bridge, which was "in decay," should be repaired.⁽¹¹⁾ We do not know whether any action was then taken, but in 1656 Richard Towneley and John Halstead signed a report to the J.P.s at their "Sessions at Preston," that by order they and skilled workmen had "viewed" the Upper Bridge in Burnley, which was in a state of decay and that they "humbly conceived the sum of 16 pounds will be requisite for the repair thereof."⁽¹²⁾ The old bridge was most probably situated between Dawson Square and Shorey Well, for when it was pulled down in 1736 a record of the time stated that the new bridge would cross the river "**direct** from Fenkel Street," implying that the old bridge was somewhere else. The old bridge was very narrow, for the new one of 1736 was only four yards wide.⁽¹³⁾

There were several cottages in Dawson Square and Fenkel Street. What is now "School Lane" was a tree-lined pathway leading to the Royds or Brown Hill, a name which seems to have covered all the district of Bank Parade. On Brown Hill there were at least two houses. One had three "bays" and was tenanted by a family named Smith, woollen weavers and coopers; the lord's rent was $\frac{1}{4}$ d. a year. The other house had four "bays" and was occupied by the Roberts, cutlers and farmers.⁽¹⁴⁾ About 1688 a new Grammar School was built on a site near the junction of Bankhouse Street and Bank Parade; the whole of the land, including the site of the present Grammar School, was the property of the Parkers of Extwistle.⁽¹⁵⁾

9. Ev. of Mr. W. Waddington.

10. See p. 28.

11. County Rec. Off. Q.S.P. 2-6.

12. County Rec. Off. Q.S.P. 126-5.

13. See p. 29.

14. C.C.R. II 405 & Ch. Reg.

15. Grammar School deeds.

Bank Hall, or Bank Top as it was often called, was a very ancient farmstead with one or two bays; it had a priest's hiding hole and part of it was of "half-timbered" construction.⁽¹⁶⁾ In 1650 it was the home of Mrs. Isabel Townley, daughter of John Woodruff, who had returned to her birthplace in 1645 on the death of her husband, Nicholas Townley of Royle. After her death, the house and estate passed by marriage and inheritance successively to the Inglebys of Lawkland, the Shireburns of Stonehurst, and the Welds of Wiltshire. The Woodruffs and all their successors at Bank Hall were Roman Catholics, and many of their members suffered for their faith. Attached to the 14 acres at Bank Hall were $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres at Cronkshaw Meadows, and four cottages.⁽¹⁷⁾ In three of the cottages, in 1650, lived John Pullon, tailor, Richard Pickop, hatter, and John Brown, farm-servant; in the house were four maids, one manservant and the estate manager, William Brearcliffe.⁽¹⁸⁾

In Church Street, known in 1650 as "Burnley Street," there were a number of dwellings, shops and stables, but it is impossible to be quite certain about all of them. On the left, looking towards the Centre, were the following:—The Cross House, five "shops" and a pentice, Adlington's Farm and a house bearing the date "1597," and the initials, "A.C."⁽¹⁹⁾ The initials are those of Abram Coulthurst of Bridge End, who had acquired the ancient monastic land in Church Street, on which he erected new property. Further along the street, at the bottom of Engine Street, was the gabled house, later known as "Whittaker's Tudor House." On the opposite side of Church Street and on the river bank stood the fulling mill and a tannery. The tanner was James Tattersall, who lived near the bottom of Rakefoot, where stepping stones led to the Parsonage and to the Green. At the bottom of Yorkshire Street was the "White House," erected in 1642 by Robert Bruer, by agreement with the governors of the Grammar School.⁽²⁰⁾ Behind the Hall Inn and on the river bank was a small farm belonging to the Grammar School; its fields lay between Gunsmith Lane and Yorkshire Street and in Colne Road.⁽²¹⁾

"The Hall," now known as "The Hall Inn," was in existence as early as 1634, and was then owned by the Towneleys. It has generally been assumed that it was built as a town house for the Towneley family, or a lodging for their guests, but it is more than probable that it was a com-

16. Wilkinson—Old Halls.

17. Indent. in poss. of Exors. of Col. Hargreaves.

18. Ch. Reg. & P.R.O. Lay Sub. 250-4.

19. Pt. II p. 44.

20. Grammar School deeds.

21. Ibid.

bined inn and farm. By 1716, "new buildings" had been added, which consisted of a gallery round a courtyard on the Church Street side of the house, and nine rooms and a cellar under the gallery.⁽²²⁾ The rent for the house, in the occupation of John Eastwood, innkeeper, in 1716, was £4 12s. 0d. a year, but there were additional payments of 67s. from six other tenants of the rooms and the cellar. In 1740 the Towneleys leased to George Eastwood, innkeeper, "The Hall, with one stable, three cellars under the gallery and two rooms on the gallery above the stairs, the Court, the croft, the Hall Meadow (at the top of Yorkshire Street), and the Kiln Croft, containing about 2½ acres of land." The rent in 1740 was £11 11s. 0d., and the maintenance of one hound or greyhound "or other dogg" or the payment of an extra 5s. a year in lieu thereof.⁽²³⁾

There is no direct evidence of any house or farm in 1650 in the Centre, but records of the 18th century show that the White Lion, the Clock Face, the Red Lion, the Bull and the White Horse were originally farms and are mentioned in the early 18th century as inns with stables, shippens and fields.⁽²⁴⁾ A drawing of the Bull as it was about 1800 shows it as a low, thatched, whitewashed farmstead, with the inn and house at one end of the building, and the shippon and hayloft, entered through huge barn doors at the other end. The Thorn is mentioned as a farm in the 16th century, but it is not certain that it became an inn before the middle of the 18th century.

On the river bank at the bottom of Bridge Street was the ancient cornmill, leased from the lord of the manor by the Shuttleworths, for £3 6s. 8d. a year. The millers at various times in the 17th century, were Roger Hindley, 1653; John Hopkinson, 1655; John Riddihalg, 1655-60; Thomas Charles, 1671; and John Taylor, 1686. They had assistants named Coupe and Barnes.⁽²⁵⁾ Riddihalg lived in a good-sized house with six hearths.⁽²⁶⁾ Opposite the cornmill a narrow pathway led past one or two cottages to the Parsonage and the Green.

Bankhouse, a 15th century timbered farmstead that stood on the site of the present County Court Buildings in Bankhouse Street was the home of the Halsteads, who had so much influence in Burnley during the 17th and early 18th centuries. Henry Halstead, B.D., Rector of Stansfield, in Suffolk, and the last of this branch of the Halstead family, rebuilt Bankhouse in 1721, and made the shippons and stables

22. Rec. Soc. Papist Estates pp. 42-3.

23. Farrer Papers D-19.

24. Rate Val. Bk. 1800.

25. Ch. Reg.

26. P.R.O. Lay Sub. 250-4.

that stood higher up Bankhouse Street into the Bankhouse Farm. The house and 60 acres were sold in 1732 for £750 to the trustees of the Church, and for some years after that date, Bankhouse was the Parsonage.⁽²⁷⁾

A 1759 estate map of Bankhouse shows the great changes that have taken place in this part of Burnley since 1650. The map shows the old farmhouse surrounded by 13 fairly large fields, which covered the most congested areas of to-day:—the Park (Parker Street and its many side streets), Royle Road, and much of Stoneyholme (the Recreation Ground, Canning Street, Brougham Street, etc.). From the farmhouse, gardens and orchards stretched down to the Calder; the remainder was meadow land or grazing land.⁽²⁸⁾

WESTGATE.

The village of Westgate, originally called "The Brig," known in the 17th century as "Bridge End" and called in the early 19th century both "Bridge End" and "Bottom o' th' Town," centred on the Calder Bridge near the present Cross Keys. The main road from Burnley to Padiham passed through the village by the present St. James' Street, Whin Hill (Sandygate) and Barracks Road. The largest houses in the village were Bridge End House at the corner of Calder Vale Road, Dutton House near the site of the Cross Keys, and Windlehouse, in or near Windle Street. In the area between the modern Westgate and Sandygate there were a number of cottages and barns.

Bridge End House was owned and occupied in 1650 by John Halstead, who had bought the property from the executors of Abrám Coulthurst. He went to live there about 1641, and acquired land across the river; his son entered the textile industry, built a mill, dyeing house and fulling mill near Orchard Bridge on his land,⁽²⁹⁾ leased out his farmland and made Bridge End into a place of residence. Another John Halstead, weaver and mercer, lived at Windlehouse in 1650,⁽³⁰⁾ but it is impossible to ascertain the relationship between the two Halsteads who were living at Westgate at the same time. Dutton House was the home of Lawrence Towneley, of Burnley and Dutton, mercer.⁽³¹⁾

Floods in 1650 and 1704 did great damage in Westgate. The flood of 1650 affected a house belonging to John Grimshaw, who seems to have owned some property near

27. Farrer Papers.

28. Map in Towneley Hall.

29. Farrer Papers—Coal Clough deeds.

30. Ch. Reg.

31. Ibid.

Cow Lane, or in Salford. In October, 1650, Nicholas Towneley and sixteen other parishioners certified that, as a consequence of floods, a house belonging to John Grimshaw had been damaged and was in danger of collapse (part of it did collapse a few months later); that the lands belonging to the house were likely to be washed away, and that "the neighbours are very earnest with us to repair the breaches made by the water in the highways lest their passage to market and Church be stopped and their houses endangered." The certificate was sent to the committee which was responsible for the maintenance of those estates which had been confiscated from the royalists in the late Civil War. John Grimshaw of Clayton was a prominent royalist. In February, 1651, the committee appointed an agent to assess the cost of repairs. The following month his estimate of £30 was filed, but it was not until January, 1652, that the committee allowed £26 13s. 4d. Even that sum was not sent to Burnley, and another petition from the parish was forwarded, saying that "unless speedy course be taken, the water will wash away the common highway and the street with other houses, to the great prejudice of the neighbours and of passengers having occasion to travel between the market towns of Halifax, Blackburn and Preston."⁽³²⁾

The flood of 1704 took away the walls of a garden at the north end of the bridge belonging to "Dutton House at the Bridge End," and a house in Fenkel Street belonging to Mr. Towneley of Royle. A fuller account of the 1704 flood stated that the water came up to the door of the Sparrow Hawk, broke down the weir serving the corn mill, carried away a house near the church in Fenkel Street, and did £300 damage between Rowley and Royle.⁽³³⁾

WALSHAW.

The Walshaw of to-day is generally regarded as a small district to the east of Swamp Top (Briercliffe), but in the 17th century it was much larger and covered the area between the Brun below Netherwood, Harlesyke, Reedley Gate, Duke Bar, Heasandford and Widow Green. It therefore included "Walshaw," Lane Head, Kibble Bank, Victoria Road, the Municipal Hospital and Duke Bar.

The whole of this district was dotted with farms and farm-cottages, and there was a small cluster of houses at Lane Head. The main road, known as "Mire Lane"⁽³⁴⁾ in the 17th century and "Burnley Lane" in the 18th century,

32. Cal. Com. Comp. Pt. I p. 489.

33. Ch. Reg.

34. Contemporary deeds.

ran from Barden Lane Top (where the Barden-Fence-Clitheroe road branched off), past Bishop House Farm and Swinglehurst Farm to Lane Head (where the Marsden-Bradley-Barrowford road branched) and thence to Haggate, Lane Bottom, Hill End and so to Catlow and Colne or to Broadbank and Halifax.

The oldest farms were Walshaw, Widow Hill and Bishop House. The farmhouse at Walshaw seems to have been built about 1600, but the farm is very much older. The house ranked as one of the largest in Burnley in 1666, for it was assessed on five hearths;⁽³⁵⁾ the Clarks, an important family, were then the occupants.⁽³⁶⁾ The cottages here and at Widow Hill were the homes of labourers and artisans; among them were John Leigh, carrier, William Aspinall, weaver, and John Pollard, weaver. Widow Hill Farm was part of the Heasandford estate and was tenanted by Edward Harrison and his son. Bishop House, with its four acres, had been successively owned since its creation about 1400, by Thomas Bishop, Smith of Briercliffe, Coulthurst of Bridge End, and Townley of Royle; it finally came into the possession of Townley-Parker of Extwistle and Cuerden. In the second half of the 17th century, it was occupied by the Redmans, farmers and weavers, 1656-1713.

All the other farms had been created out of the commons and the farmhouses had been built a little after 1620:—Saxifield, Higher Saxifield, 1639, Bullion's (Pilling), Hitchon's Tenement (Peter Hitchon, 1676-1706, farmer and blacksmith), Primrose Bank, Spout (Hargreaves, farmers, woollen and linen weavers), Kibble Bank, Spring Head (the last four farms belonged to the Shuttleworths), and Swinglehurst (part of the Heasandford estate). Widow Green and cottage were built in 1698 by a person bearing the initials of "H.R." Among other tenants of the above farms were families named Nuttall, Spenser 1662-1717, Ridihalgh 1636-1671, Whittaker 1604-1662, Whalley 1660-1708, Parker, and Smith 1645-1714.

Cottagers at Lane Head were "Old Taylor" and Widow Taylor, pauper; Towneley, cobbler; Farrington, wheelwright; Thompson, weaver, 1700-54; Tattersall, 1618-1755, and Baldwin, 1745.

HALGH ROW.

This name, which has come down to us as "Hallows,"⁽³⁷⁾ covered the area between Barden Lane and Brierfield, and thus included Reedley Hallows, the Prairie, Reedley and Halgh Head. The present Colne Road beyond Barden Lane Top was not in existence except perhaps as a field-path.

The oldest farms were Chamber Hill, Hawkshouse, and Halgh Head. Little is known about Chamber Hill except the names of its tenants, Hartleys in the 16th century, and Emmetts in the 17th century. Hawkshouse, originally part of an estate called "Hamstoncliffe," and later known as "Hawkshole,"⁽³⁸⁾ was tenanted in 1650 by the Robinsons of Old Laund; nearby were three cottages, occupied by Jonathan Ingham, glazier, William Nelson, weaver, and John Hargreaves, weaver, which were mortgaged for three weeks for £34 10s. 0d.⁽³⁹⁾ Halgh Head Farm, established about 1400 by Thomas Bishop, passed in turn into the possession of Christopher Jackson of Stoneyrakes, Briercliffe, the Coultursts of Bridge End, the Barcrofts of the Lodge, the Townleys of Royle, and thence to its present owners, the Townley-Parkers. In 1608-1723, a family named Sharp were the tenants and they gave the name of "Sharp's Field" to a rough pasture field near Casterton Avenue.

All other farms were created early in the 17th century:—Lower Halgh Row (a small, roughly-built farmstead that stood opposite the Queensgate Bus Depot), Halgh Row (now Lower Halgh Head at the top of Peart Street), Higher Reedley (Duerden), Lower Reedley, Reedley Barn, and Waterbarn (on the site of Emmanuel Chapel). Among the tenants of farms and adjacent cottages were families named Lawe 1616-1662, Whittaker 1600-1700, Rigby 1650-1700, and Mitchell, farmers and clothiers, 1659-1700.⁽⁴⁰⁾

37. "Halgh Row" was in all probability originally "Halgh-ho," meaning "Halgh-head," i.e., land at the head of the stream, and would be applied to the Marsden Road district; later, it was corrupted to "Hallows," and by the similarity with "Hollows" was identified with the lower part of Reedley. A similar name, but one that changed in the other direction is "Elders i' th' Row," i.e., land at the "ho" or "head" of the elder-trees; its 14th century name was "Ollerenhead," which means the same thing.

38. C.C.R. II 25 & 59.

39. Farrer Papers D. 19.

40. Ch. Reg.

BARDEN.

The district of Barden lay between Barden Lane Top and Sandyford Bridge (Pendle Bridge) and extended beyond Pendle Water to include the Duckpits. The road fell quite steeply from the Lane Top and crossed three cloughs before it reached the present Canal Bridge. The first, which carried the waters of two small streams, one from Bishop House and the other from Waterbarn Farm, crossed Barden Lane near Newman Street; the second was a stream from the direction of Rakehead Mill and crossed Barden Lane between Bright Street and Godiva Street; the third stream, which was joined by the other two, was Barden Clough, that rose beyond Halgh Head, passed near the Bus Depot and crossed Barden Lane near Pratt Street. (The clough followed a twisting course through Stoneyholme before joining the Calder near Royle). The three cloughs in Barden Lane were crossed by stepping stones until 1736, when a foot-bridge was erected over the clough near Newman Street.⁽⁴¹⁾

The largest and oldest farm in Barden was the Lodge, which in the 15th century had a few acres in Oliver Ings (a name still used), Sand Banks (Pendle Bridge), Holme (Holme End), and an unknown Sagar Place; by 1539 there were 150 acres with a copyhold rental of £2 10s. 0d. The present house incorporates a well-proportioned farmstead, which was built about 1600 to replace a much older one. The Lodge came into the possession of the Townleys of Royle by marriage, and in 1742 was leased by Thomas Townley to John Kay, clothier, of "Wicollar Dean," for three lives, at the annual rental of £68 and the lord's rent of £5.⁽⁴²⁾

The other farms in the district may be enumerated:—Wood End, "Smiths" (so-called from the name of the tenants 1617-1706, "Inghams" (tenants, 1617-1700), Holme End (Nutter), and two un-named farms in Barden Lane. There were also several cottages at or near Holme End. The tenants of cottages and other farms were named Earnshaw, Whip (a William Whip became the Vicar of Leighton Buzzard),⁽⁴³⁾ Lee 1661-1743 (Catholics), Watson 1719-1756 (Catholics), Christopher and John Baron, tailors, 1661-1690 (came from Cliviger and went to live near Palace House), Wades 1665-1753, Driver 1660-1716, Lonsdale 1617-1737, and Knowles 1639-1710.

41. See p. 30.

42. Grammar School deeds.

43. See p. 51.

SAXIFIELD.

In 1650, the name of "Saxifield" was generally limited to Stoneyholme and the district between Duke Bar and the town. The principal farms were Marles, Grimehouse, "Pollards in the Fields" (probably near Belgrave St., though it had a field near the present Platers and Stampers), Hebrew Hall (situated near the junction of Taylor Street and Hebrew Road, tenanted in 1718 by John Hartley), Danes House (Folds), New Hall, Old Hall (Dearden 1650-1700), and Crow Wood (Thompson 1700-1714).⁽⁴⁴⁾

Between the present Canal and Duke Bar the land which had so recently been enclosed from Saxifield Common was divided into small fields. These fields belonged to Hebrew Hall and "Pollards," both of which were newly-erected farmsteads, and to farms in the town, which were sufficiently near their pasture to need no other expense than the building of field-barns. One of the "town" farms with fields near Colne Road Library was situated behind the Hall Inn and was tenanted by the landlord of the Clock Face Inn; ⁽⁴⁵⁾ another farm with land near the Canal became the White Horse Inn.⁽⁴⁶⁾

THE RIDGE.

"The Ridge" covered not only the high land from the present Queen's Park Road to Mereclough, but also Rowley, Netherwood, and the land that falls to Belvedere Road. In 1617-20 the old-established farms of Netherwood, Rowley, Ridge End and Pike Hill had increased their acreage from the waste lands, while new farms had been hurriedly built to begin the cultivation of the newly enclosed fields. Most of the new farmsteads were rough and plain in appearance and without the spaciousness that is associated with the older Burnley farms.

Netherwood with the cottages built on to it is now a rather forlorn-looking place, but it was the ancestral home of the Parkers of Extwistle. Even when Extwistle Hall was built late in the 16th century as the principal seat of the family, Netherwood was retained as a home for the younger sons. Here lived Robert 1605-1637 and Abram 1599-1650, two sons of John Parker of Extwistle, who at one time was the Sheriff of Lancashire.

A family named Sagar lived on a farm near to Netherwood and probably on the Walshaw side of the river.

44. Ch. Reg.

45. Grammar School deeds.

46. Rate Val. Bk. 1800.

Nicholas Sagar carried on the farm of some 14 acres, while Oates Sagar was a woollen weaver of sufficient importance to have special seats in the Church allotted to him in 1634. In 1678 the farm was being worked by another Oates Sagar and his son, William.⁽⁴⁷⁾

Rowley Hall was built in 1593 by John Halstead (died 1632) to replace a very ancient farmstead. In 1550 there were only some 17 acres of farmland, but by 1650, by purchase and by allotments from the commons, the acreage had increased to over 50; to these should be added 24½ acres lying in separate fields in Saxifield, Broadhead Moor and the Ridge, together with a part-share in a stonepit on the Ridge (a valuable piece of property) which John Halstead granted in 1621 to his son.⁽⁴⁸⁾

The farmstead known as "Ridge End" has disappeared and some of its fields are now part of Queen's Park. It was the home of the Tattersalls, a yeoman family that at the beginning of the 16th century ranked high in influence among the lesser gentry of Burnley. However, family quarrels, lawsuits, and, perhaps, participation in political struggles, ruined their fortunes, so much so that in 1719 Edmund Tattersall sold the Ridge Farm to the Claytons of Carr Hall.⁽⁴⁹⁾

The new farms on the Ridge included the two between the top of Ormerod Road and Brunshaw, the Ridge Farm at Brunshaw, Red Lees Farm, Far Brunshaw (near the Co-operative Laundry), Ridge Bottom, "Cooper's" (on the site of the present Park Mill), and perhaps Cottam Laithe. The names of many people living on the Ridge are known, but it is impossible to determine which farms they occupied. Families who lived there for some considerably time were named Spenser 1618-1708, Higgin 1605-1697, and Walton 1590-1700. The Waltons lived in a farm near Overtown, and in the late 16th century had been corn dealers and woollen weavers as well as farmers; in the second half of the 17th century, the family consisted of the father, John Walton, fuller as well as farmer of 15 acres, and three sons, Richard, a farmer of 50-60 acres, James and John, woollen and linen weavers.

HEASANDFORD.

In 1650 Heasandford House was owned and occupied by Simon Haydock, whose family had succeeded in 1562 by marriage to the 13th century estates of the Stansfields. The house and lands passed regularly from father to son until

47. Ch. Reg.

48. Clith. Ct. Rolls 1650.

49. Wilkinson—Mem. of Hurstwood.

1745 when the last of the male line, John Haydock, J.P., died without children. Heasandford House had an orchard, a plantation and 14 fields, including "Kill Hill" and "Kill Holme" on the river bank immediately opposite the house. The following were other farms on the estate:—Sand Holme Farm, which was situated near the boating pool in Thompson Park; Kippax Tenement, situated near the jinney track between the Ridge and Rowley Colliery, with several fields including "The Hanging Banks" and "The Holme"; Bishop Leap Farm, on the site of Stanley Mill; Grimeshouse and Marles Farms; Widow Green Farm with its "Seven Days Mowing," "Rough," "Wet Meadow" and "William Field."⁽⁵⁰⁾

Several pathways crossed at Heasandford. One known as "Hall Lane" roughly coincided with the present Queen Victoria Street and connected the house with Briercliffe Road. Another track came from Briercliffe and Widow Green Farm, down Heasandford Clough, passed Heasandford House, crossed the river at Sandyholme Bridge, and proceeded to Burnley. Near Browhead Street a third pathway led to Swinglehurst Lane, now Swinless Street, while in the other direction it became "a bridle path" to "Ridge Lane" above Queen's Park.⁽⁵¹⁾

FULLEDGE.

The Fulfilled district seems to have been almost entirely farmland attached to Fulfilled House, with one or two cottages at Hand Bridge, near the gateway to Towneley Holmes. Fulfilled House stood on the site of the Todmorden Road School, and had been erected in 1576 to take the place of a much older one. It was the home of the Inghams, who had been so important in Burnley during the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries. Misfortune came to the family a little before 1700, and the house, farm and estate were sold in 1721 to Mr. Henry Blackmore for a little over £2,200. Included in the estate were the Bull Inn and Bull Croft, the Red Lion and the Red Lion Croft, Blackacre, Turner Croft, Bee Hole, Parker Lane (Cattle Market), Stakes Meadow, Kiln Croft or Tentre Field (near Plumbe Street), Holmes (Holmes Street), Stubble and Turf Moor, and Pilling Field (Aqueduct Street).⁽⁵²⁾ Some of these fields were leased out as farming land,⁽⁵³⁾ e.g., Stakes Meadow for 14s., but others, such as Parker Lane lands, were used for coalmining.

At Hand Bridge, so-called from the little wooden bridge over the Calder, lived handloom weavers, including a

50. Old estate map.

51. *Ibid.*

52. P.R.O. D.L. 42-28.

53. Strange—Diary of Benj. Robertshaw.

family named Taylor, one of whom, John, in 1711, was nicknamed "cotton."⁽⁵⁴⁾ Hand Bridge came into prominence when Richard Towneley drew the attention of Dr. Leigh, the famous 18th century naturalist and traveller, to the curious qualities of the water of a spring that existed there. The water, when exposed to air, deposited a scarlet sediment, which the learned doctor identified as natron (carbonate of soda). This was the age when wealthy people went to spas "to drink the waters" and therefore a project was set on foot to make Hand Bridge into a spa, which might bring wealth and fame to the district. The scheme was never carried further in spite of the fact that a later analysis of the water showed that it contained ochre and marine salts in large quantities.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Later in the 18th century, a similar proposal was made to establish a spa at Bankhouse, since a spring near the Calder on the Bankhouse estate was said to have curative properties. An analysis of the Bankhouse spring showed that it contained "a thin meagre chalybeate," i.e., the water had a small quantity of iron in solution, and further stated that it might be of some little value when used medicinally.⁽⁵⁶⁾ There was another attempt to make Burnley into a health resort in the 19th century; this will be described in a later chapter.

An insight into the conditions at one part of Todmorden Road in 1688 is revealed by proceedings at the Court of Quarter Sessions. These seem to imply that Todmorden Road had only recently been made into "a public highway"; before approximately 1670, therefore, it was a private road to Fulfilledge House and Towneley. The first we hear of the case is an Order from the J.P.s to John Ingham to "lay open the road bought from him 16 or 17 years ago, called the Cop, at the end of the Hand Bridge, in Burnley, to the common highway at the end of the said bridge" and endorsed "Ordered to open Beehole Bridge near Hand Bridge."⁽⁵⁷⁾ Ingham took no notice and in the same year, 1688, a further order was made that John Ingham should "erect the little bridge called the Beehole Bridge, near the public bridge called the Hand Bridge, and convey the lands he is already paid for to Robert Parker, Richard Shuttleworth and Peter Ormerod."⁽⁵⁸⁾ Ingham did neither and he was ordered to appear personally before the Court. Then followed the constable's "Bill of Charges concerning the Cop at Hand Bridge," which amounted to £2 0s. 2d.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The bill includes costs of law charges, serving two orders on Ingham, expenses of witnesses, returning writs,

54. Ch. Reg.

55. Leigh's Nat. Hist.

56. Pres. Guardian—cutting.

57. County Rec. Off. Q.S.P. 632-7.

58. County Rec. Off. Q.S.P. 636-13.

59. County Rec. Off. Q.S.P. 644-12.

and "a Bill drawing for a bridge betwixt Hapton and Habergham Eaves."⁶⁰

Maps of various dates show a "Copy Bridge" situated in Todmorden Road near the end of Lyndhurst Road and crossing a small stream that entered the Calder at Holmes Street, and a footpath from Copy Bridge, passing 40 or 50 yards from Fulfilledge House and following the line of the present Higgin Street across Brunshaw Road to the Beehole Colliery. It therefore seems probable that about 1670 the County authorities wished to make a public highway from "Eastgate" to Fulfilledge and Hand Bridge (in Habergham Eaves) and thence perhaps by Huffling Lane across Burnley Wood and Healey Heights to Four Lane Ends and Habergham. For this purpose land for the road opposite Fulfilledge House had to be bought. Ingham sold the required strip and at the same time apparently agreed to build the Cop Bridge or Beehole Bridge over the clough and open up the footpath to Brunshaw. As the vendor refused to carry out his agreement after he had received payment, the work of building the bridge was undertaken by order of the J.P.s, who were themselves responsible for the maintenance of highway bridges though they enforced local authorities to keep roadways in good repair.

BURNLEY WOOD.

This district was part of Habergham Eaves and lay roughly between Todmorden Road and Manchester Road. Like other districts near the town, it was an area of farms with one or two hamlets. The roads were merely country lanes serving to connect outlying farms with Burnley, rather than highways for the passage of wheeled traffic. One road ran from Burnley via the Todmorden Road to Towneley; another road reached Dunnockshaw via Sandygate, Coal Clough Lane, Cog Lane, the Bull and Butcher, and thence by the line of the present road. A very ancient road, probably a track in prehistoric times,⁽⁶¹⁾ crossed Burnley Wood by the line of Barracks Road, Cog Lane, Coal Clough Lane and then under the name of "Blind Lane" followed St. Matthew Street, crossing to Scott Park Road, Rosehill Road to Glen View Road; here, it either followed the road past Sandbed to Rock Lane, or reached "Causey End" by the more difficult but shorter route. (Before Towneley Hall was built, the road from Causeway End proceeded through Causeway

60. Costs of bulider or architect making a plan of the bridge, already paid by the constable.

61. Pt. I pp. 21-22.

End Wood in the Park and thence to Mereclough). An ancient road to Rochdale ran from the Bull and Butcher to Crown Point, thence to Windy Bank and across Deerplay; this road was made into a turnpike road in 1755. There were two other roads or lanes of perhaps greater importance to local farmers; one proceeded from Parker Lane via Hollingreave Road to Rock Lane; the other, perhaps a public highway, was Huffling Lane.

It is difficult to write a detailed history of Burnley Wood for the period 1650-1700 because contemporary records are so few. In any case, the history of the area is the history of its individual farms, where, so far as can be ascertained, neither the family name of the tenant nor the farm buildings changed very much.

Hollingreave House, which was situated near the junction of Brunswick Street and Hollingreave Road, was originally a farmstead with some 30 acres of farmland. The farm had been the property of the Whittakers, but before 1617 it had passed by marriage into the possession of William Pollard, linen and woollen manufacturer, and John Haworth, farmer.⁽⁶²⁾ Haworth's share passed in 1649 to his next of kin, the Pollards. They occupied the farm until the death in 1713 of Richard Pollard, linen weaver, who before he died had begun a transaction for the sale of the property for £200 to Henry Parkinson of Clifton. The sale was completed by his sons; Richard, an invalid out-pensioner of Chelsea Hospital; Joshua of Habergham Eaves, weaver; and William of Habergham Eaves, sergeman.⁽⁶³⁾ The Parkinsons lived at Hollingreave until late in the 19th century. William Parkinson, who died in 1755, was buried "in the Church," but Jane Parkinson, who had died 12 years earlier, was not accorded that honour.⁽⁶⁴⁾ Later Parkinsons were medical men, though they still kept on the farm. In 1780, Doctor Parkinson received from the churchwardens the sum of 11s. 11d. for lime which he supplied for parish use.⁽⁶⁵⁾ A later member of the family provided ling liver oil and "plaisters" for the sick of Burnley and district.⁽⁶⁶⁾ In the 19th century, Hollingreave House was known as "Parkinson's Mad House," which seems to imply that it had become a home for mental patients under the care and attention of the doctor.⁽⁶⁷⁾

Near Hollingreave House was a small farm of four or five acres, occupied by Edward Gabbott; his son was a shoemaker in 1657. There were also a few cottages inhabited by

62. C.C.R. II 406.
63. Farrer Papers.
64. Ch. Reg.

65. Churchwardens' Accts.
66. Diary of Wm. Varley. See p.
67. Burnley Ex.—cutting.

artisans and labourers:—John, Abram and Henry Cotton, all slaters, 1651-1659; Thomas Cotton, butcher, 1653-1660; Robert Ormerod, farm labourer, 1694; and William Rollinson, 1696.

Moseley Farm stood near Towneley Station at the junction of Glebe Street and Ballam Street. In the early part of the 16th century it had some 60 acres and was held by Edmund Tattersall, from whom it descended to his three daughters.⁽⁶⁸⁾ The farm, with two barns, apple orchard and 22 acres on Moseley Hill, was granted to Isabel Tattersall, from whom it eventually came to John Halstead of Rowley. The Moseley estate, with Huffling Hall, remained in the possession of the Halsteads until 1673, when John Halstead granted it to the Church.⁽⁶⁹⁾

The farms of Higher and Lower Haworth Fold were owned and occupied by families named Haworth and Jackson. John Haworth, who also possessed a half-share of Hollingreave, died in 1649, and his property at Haworth Fold passed to his brother-in-law, Joseph Ingham of Fulleage; the Inghams lived at the farm until the end of the century. The Jacksons kept their farm until well into the 18th century; some of them were linen manufacturers and ranked high in the social scale of Burnley: one son was sent to a university.⁽⁷⁰⁾

Among the other farms of Burnley Wood were:—Higher and Lower Small Hazels (tenanted by Pollards, farmers and weavers, and by Smiths, farmers and coopers); Higher and Lower Timber Hill (tenanted by families named Wood, Sagar, Ingham and Holt, farmers, cutlers, carpenters and tanners). It has not been possible to determine the names of the tenants of the remaining farms, but the following were living in Burnley Wood for a long period in the late 17th and early 18th centuries:—Stuttard, Lancaster (Geoffrey 1689 was a tanner, John died in 1724, aged 100), Whittaker, Clerk, Eastwood (slater), and Wilson. A William Tarleton lived in the Burnley Wood district in 1666, and had a house with six hearths; perhaps this was a long forgotten farm near Tarleton Road.

HABERGHAM EAVES.

Habergham Eaves was really a township divided from Burnley by the River Calder and extending to the boundaries of Cliviger, Dunnockshaw, Hapton and Ightenhill. It included Burnley Wood, Coal Clough, Healey Wood, Finsley-

68. See Pt. II 53.

69. Wilkinson—Hist. of Ch. p. 84.

70. Cal. King's Coll. Camb.

gate, Gannow and Lowerhouse, but in the 17th century, though the township existed for administrative purposes, the name was usually applied to the district of scattered farms lying beyond the Bull and Butcher. The more thickly populated parts of Habergham Eaves were generally known by their present names.

There were three farms at Nutshaw: one of 60 acres, tenanted by Pillings 1620-70, and Sutcliffes 1670-1700, another of 300 acres, tenanted by Lonsdales, and a third of 60 acres at Porterangate (now "Porter's Gate" near the disused colliery) tenanted by another branch of the Lonsdale family. Higher and Lower Micklehurst Farms were occupied by relatives named Whittaker, who, like so many other farmers, had to engage in textile pursuits while following their farming industry; John and Richard Whittaker 1682-1710, were dyers, while another John was a woollen weaver 1653-1687. Oakeneaves had once been a single farm, but soon after 1550, when it fell into the hands of Habergham of Habergham Hall, it was divided into Higher and Lower Oakeneaves and a cottage-farm with two acres. In 1650 a family named Aspden had one farm of nearly 14 acres, Pickop (also hatters 1650-1710), eight acres, and Widow Brotherton, two acres. Long Syke and Further Barn were probably in existence in 1650, but there is no certain information about them.

HEALEY.

Healey Hall, with its farm, Healey Fold, and several cottages, was situated between the present Cleveland Road and Lansdown Street. About 1650 the old 13th century Hall was taken down and a new one erected, which was demolished in its turn about 1870. The estate consisted of 71 acres of an annual value in 1617 of £37 11s. 3d.⁽⁷¹⁾ It was the ancestral home of the Whittakers, of whom the most famous was Robert, 1621-1704, medical practitioner in Burnley for nearly 50 years, nonconformist and friend of Thomas Jolly (the Puritan parson of Altham), and supporter of his co-religionists, for whom he made Healey Hall into a "preaching place."⁽⁷²⁾ The last of the Whittakers of Healey died in 1778; his only daughter and heiress married John Fletcher of Gannow, and from them the estate passed to an only granddaughter, Anne, who married James Roberts of Burnley. The estate was sold in 1826 to Peregrine Towneley of Towneley.

71. C.C.R. II 406.

72. Raines MSS.

HOOD HOUSE.

Hood House, which stood on the site of the present Hood House, near Scott Park, had an estate of nearly 50 acres in the 16th century, and belonged to a branch of the Whittaker family. Lower Hood House (situated approximately at the junction of St. Matthew Street and Manchester Road) seems to have been taken in 1646 with about 21 acres out of the estate to make a farm for George Crabtree, brother-in-law of Robert Whittaker of Hood House. This particular branch of Whittaker provided many Burnley blacksmiths:—George 1653-78 (also a carpenter), Nicholas 1634-78, Nicholas 1650-1705, John 1686-1709 (also a gunsmith). The estate eventually passed into the possession of the Halsteads of Rowley.

Nothing is known of the history of Appletree Carr Farm and Hilltop Farm, sometimes called "Hillock."

PICKOP.

The area of the Pickop estate (modern Greenhill) in 1617, after the enclosure of the commons, was 69 acres, all held by James Tattersall. James Tattersall 1617-1654 was a woollen manufacturer, Richard 1653-59, his son, was a mercer, and Richard of the Green, his brother, was a tanner and mercer. The estate was divided and sold in the 17th century but the Halsteads of Bankhouse secured Pickop and 40 acres (occupied 1700-1729 by John and Simon Clegg) from whom in 1729 the lands passed to the Halsteads of Rowley.

COAL CLOUGH.

The Sagars first appear as occupants of Coal Clough House in 1619, when they were tenants of the Halsteads; by 1655 they had purchased the house and estate and had acquired land near Sandygate and Westgate, near the junction of the Brun and Calder, and at Timberhill; the only recorded sale of land by the Sagars was "Kitfield Farm," with $7\frac{3}{4}$ acres, near Hood House.⁽⁷³⁾ Nearly all the Sagars of the 17th and the 18th centuries were engaged in the manufacture and sale of textiles. The Coal Clough estate passed regularly from father to son until 1772 when John Sagar granted his lands and property to Thomas Veevers, his nephew. Sagar Veevers was one of the most important of Burnley manufacturers in the early 19th century.

Of the people who lived in cottages near Coal Clough, only one is known by name—Henry Butterworth, of Pasturegate, 1709.

73. Farrer—Coal Clough deeds.

ROSEGROVE, SMALLSHAW AND HARGHER CLOUGH.

Rosegrove Farm, of 70 acres (tenanted in the 17th century by the Inghams) and Perkin Rood, of six acres (now probably Halstead Farm) were the two oldest farms at Rosegrove. Smallshaw (on site of the railway-sidings), Higher Smallshaw (Accrington Road), Hargher Clough (Clough Street) and Higher Hargher Clough (Recreation Ground) had had an interesting but very involved history of exchanges and divisions between the Inghams, Tattersalls and Halsteads, but eventually all the farms became the property of the Halsteads. Among the tenants of one or other of the four farms were Henry Haworth, clothier, 1650-70; Henry Hardman, nonconformist, 1680-1700; James Wood, blacksmith, 1700, with his two sons, one a weaver and the other a tanner and joiner; Oliver Birtwistle 1650-1704, mason. Margery Birtwistle 1704 is described in the church register as being "of Higher-Jay-Clough," a spelling by which Mr. Robertshaw, clerk and schoolmaster, indicated what he thought to be the derivation of the name "Hargher Clough."

GANNOW AND YATEFIELD.

It is difficult to separate these two hamlets as they existed in the 17th century. John Ingham 1630-1672 took seats in the Church "for Gannow," and Nicholas Whittaker "for Yatefield," but each in turn is later described as being "of Gannow" and "of Yatefield." John Ingham of Gannow, whose farm was about 20 acres in extent, was a clothier, as were Simon Ingham 1655 and Thomas Ingham 1661. John lived at a house called alternatively by the names of "Lane House" and "Schofield House," while Richard Ingham 1651-1657 "of Palace House" had attained the rank of "gentleman."⁽⁷⁴⁾ A family named Fletcher of Gannow were plasterers or "daubers," as they were called. Sutcliffes of Gannow farmed well over 50 acres, but there is some doubt about the identity of the farm. Richard Folds of Gannow was a shoemaker.

PALACE HOUSE, KIDROW LANE, IGHTEHILL AND CLIFTON.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, Bancrofts lived at Palace House and paid a lord's rent of 25s. for the 75 acres, but by 1700 the Holdens had taken over the property. On the estate which included Pendle Hall, occupied by Andrew

Crook, 1641-1660, clothier, there were several farms and cottages. Here lived the Barons, tailors, the Whiteheads 1660-1710, and the Sagars. Charles Sagar became the headmaster of Blackburn Grammar School and a nonconformist minister at Darwen.

Kidrow was known as "Kitheroe," and here were one or two cottages, in one of which lived Richard Heap 1659-1721, woollen weaver.

Ightenhill was held by the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe, and Clifton was the property of the Townleys of Royle. The farms now existing were erected before 1650, but it is impossible to determine with any degree of certainty the names of the tenants. There were also a number of cottages inhabited by artisans:—William Lonsdale 1654-57 carpenter, John Hindley 1655, weaver, and several Pollards 1655-70.

CHAPTER II.

Social Conditions, 1650-1750.

As the last chapter will have shown, Burnley in the 17th century was a rural district with a main village near the Church and another smaller one at Westgate. Little farmsteads with their pasture fields, meadows and corn lands covered Salford, Stoneyholme, Fulfilledge and the other crowded areas of to-day; streets such as Bankhouse Street, Royle Road and Todmorden Road were narrow, twisting country lanes, bordered with hedges and trees and gay in summer-time with wild flowers. Finsleygate was a pathway through a cornfield where trespassers were liable to prosecution.⁽¹⁾ In the clear, sparkling waters of the Brun and Calder were trout and pike;⁽²⁾ in the fields were hedgehogs, foxes, hares and rabbits.⁽³⁾

The peace and tranquillity of the village was in marked contrast with the noise and bustle of to-day. There were long periods when the silence was broken only by the lowing of cattle, the play and shouts of children, the click-clack of a cottage handloom, the insistent clang of the blacksmith's anvil and the peal of the church bells. From time to time, the somnolence of the village was disturbed by a lumbering farm cart; a herd of cattle being driven to the shippin or to the pasture, or being watered at the river; a farmer riding by on his way to some market or tavern. At times, there might be seen horses and ponies with baskets at their sides, carrying coal from the pits, or packhorses bringing Irish linen yarn from Preston, cotton from South Lancashire, wool from Yorkshire, or taking to distant markets woollen and fustian cloths woven in Burnley cottages.

The slow and monotonous life in the township might seem dull and uninteresting to us at the present time, but our predecessors in Burnley of three hundred years ago were certainly not bored. There was hard work on the land and at the loom and bench and there was plenty of gossip in the market and taverns about crops, weather, prices, trade, and wages, as well as "the doings and goings-on" of fellow townsmen: there was animated talk about rebellion at home, long wars and famous victories abroad, the execution or

1. Halmot Court, Nov. 4th, 1791.

2. In an advert for sale of the Hollins, reference was made to that "river, famous for trout fishing"; J. Rawlinson stated that pike could be caught in the Calder in the Meadows district.

3. Ch. Reg. and Par. Accts.

expulsion of a Stuart king and the succession of a Dutchman and later a German to the English throne, about religious uniformity and religious freedom, and many other contemporary events of great importance: for communal enjoyment, they had their town bonfires, rushbearings, maypoles, bull-baitings and cockfights. Any little happening connected with their parish, church or school roused their keen interest: tempers flared and tongues wagged when discussing even the appointment of a sexton.⁽⁴⁾

ROADS AND BRIDGES. REPAIRS AND IMPROVEMENTS.

Roads were maintained by the parish under the supervision of the local surveyor and the J.P.s; bridges however were the responsibility of the county, acting through the justices. In this district as a whole, the lanes were narrow, muddy and inconvenient, and as long as they satisfied the meagre requirements of the surveyor, nothing was done to improve them. In the village, the one and only street, Burnley Street, was probably unpaved until 1736. The mud and filth left by the frequent passage of droves of cattle must have made the street very disagreeable for pedestrian use, and there is little wonder that women wore pattens⁽⁵⁾ when they visited the town. As for bridges, we have already read of the petitions of 1648 and 1656 concerning the Brun Bridge, the 1650 petition for the repair of the roadway and the Calder Bridge, and the 1688 quarrel about the Cop Bridge in Todmorden Road.

In 1736 very important alterations and improvements to roads and bridges in Burnley were made. At 2-45 p.m. on St. Peter's Day (June 29th, at the height of the annual Fair), the old bridge over the Brun was demolished and soon afterwards a new one was constructed. A contemporary account⁽⁶⁾ says that the new bridge was to be built "direct from Fenkel Street to the gable end of the house lately belonging to Sir Nicholas Shireburn, facing the upper cross." Fenkel Street was the old name for that part of Colne Road between the bottom of School Lane and the Cannons; Sir Nicholas Shireburn was the owner of the Bank Hall estate and the house referred to was situated opposite the Church and between the Talbot and the River. The phrase applied to the new bridge "direct from Fenkel Street"

4. See p. 68.

5. A wooden shoe or sole, standing on an iron ring, worn to keep the shoes from the dirt or mud. Pattern-makers existed in Burnley in 1824.

6. Farrer Papers; V.C.H. VI 442n.

implies that the old bridge crossed the Brun at some point other than in Church Street. The account makes it quite clear that the old bridge was taken down before the new one was erected, doubtless with the intention of using the old stones. The archway of the new bridge spanning the water was 16 yards long and four yards wide, but as the channel of the river was much wider than 16 yards, the stonework on either side of the archway was continued so that the total length of the bridge was 40 yards; a wing-wall was built up the river at the north side of the bridge for a distance of 15 yards and a parallel wing-wall was built on the south side for ten yards. The roadway had bridge walls or "battlements" four feet high, and though it was only four yards wide there was a foot pavement on either side. At the south-east end of the bridge (The Talbot side), a paved path was made down to the water "necessary and convenient for persons to water their cattle and fetch water" (from the old Shorey well). The inner churchyard wall that bordered the pathway to the old chantry house "beneath Old Naylor House (chantry house) and Crossley's dunghill" was pulled down and the stone was used for raising by two feet the wall "next the water between Crossley's stable end and Old Naylor's House end." The pavement of the pathway was also pulled up and the path levelled and added to the churchyard. The street channel was also to be "saited" into the river.

Sections of various roads were also paved in 1736 as the following account⁽⁷⁾ shows:—

"The Disbursements of Thomas Townley, Esq.,
Surveyour of the Highwaies for the Town-
ship of Burnley for the year 1736.

	£	s.	d.
Paid John Crossley for paving the broad causeway (roadway) in Fenkel Street containing 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ yards in breadth and 11 roods and 5 yards in length at 1d. per square yard	2	2	2

(A Lancashire rood was seven yards. The 82 yards of newly-paved roadway would reach the end of an old road (not School Lane) that ran from Fenkel Street to Brown Hill).

Paid him more for paving the broad causeway from Byerden Lane end to Wadehouse, 56 roods in length and 8 feet in breadth, at 1d. per sq. yard	4	7	1
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7. In poss. of the writer.

(This paved road extended from the present Duke Bar to approximately Newman Street in Barden Lane. John Wade of Barden is mentioned in 1720).

Paid him for 23 yards above Wadehouse the same breadth	5	2
Paid him for walling a copp at Wadehouse, walling heads for and laying two brig-stones	3	8
(A small bridge over a clough in Barden Lane, made of two small strong walls on which two long flat stones were laid).		
Paid him for paving 36 narrow causeway in Burnley Lane (one yard wide)	3	0
Paid him for 79 yards narrow causeway in Byerden Lane	6	7
Paid him for paving 133 yards by the head of Towneley Park	11	1
Paid him for 116 yards between Bankhouse Yate and Robin Barnes cottages (Bank Parade?)	9	8
Paid Robert Whittaker for two new hacks	5	10
Paid Richard Schofield for 37 days leading (carting) at 3s. 6d. a day	6	9 6
Paid John Ashworth for 12 days leading at 3s. 6d. a day	2	2 2
Paid Wilkinson for pulling up and laying Whittakers Well anew (Shorey Well)	3	6
Paid John Eastwood for 51 days at 8d. a day	1	14 0
Paid Shackleton for two days	1	4
Paid Parson Matthews (of St. Peter's) for one day leading	3	6
Paid Nicholas Smith for the Brigg Stones and Walling Stones	9	0
	<hr/> £18 17 1 <hr/>	

The Receipts of Thomas Townley for the said year	5	8 0
By an assessment of 6d. in the pound charged upon the Inhabitants of the said Township amounting to	18	19 7
Seen and allowed by us the 6th day of Jan., 1736.		

P. Starkie.
J. Haydock.
J. Hamerton."

In the above account we may see something of the nature of the roads in Burnley in 1736. The Brun bridge

was only four yards wide, Fenkel Street had a paved roadway only $3\frac{1}{4}$ yards wide, Barden Lane possessed a track for horses and small carts eight feet wide, while Burnley Lane, Bank Parade and Todmorden Road were lanes with a yard-wide pavement for all users. The ceremony of taking down the old bridge was obviously a matter of great moment, for it was made to coincide with the time when the annual fair was at its height. We can well understand the excitement of the people when they witnessed perhaps the greatest change in the town they had ever known. It is interesting to note that the rateable value of the township of Burnley in 1736 was £760, so that a 1d. rate produced £3 3s. 4d. Habergham Eaves, covering a larger area than Burnley, was a separate township and had its own rates. In 1948, a 1d. rate in the Borough produces £2,225.

HOUSES, FURNITURE, ETC.

One-roomed, thatched cottages with rough thick walls, open fireplace and possibly earth floor were the homes of the very poor. Some of these cottages existed in Burnley as late as 1800 and were then assessed for rates at only 5s. a year—the lowest assessment in the town, when even a very small stable was valued at 10s. a year. Other houses, in pairs or in short rows, had stone roofs and mullioned windows, and, for the most part, had only one room downstairs and one bedroom reached by stone steps. The living room had often an earth floor though stone flagged floors were coming into general use for all cottages; the fire of turf, peat, wood, dried animal dung, or coal, burned on an open hearth, near which stood a three-legged boiling pot and baking bricks or backstone. The roof of the house in almost every case formed the ceiling of the bedroom; occasionally, a small second bedroom opened out from the larger one. The furniture of the smaller and poorer cottages consisted usually of a rough table, a few stools, a few crocks, and a bundle of straw for bed. In the better class cottages there might be found a wooden settle well polished by constant use, a corner cupboard, a dresser and bed-stocks as a bed. In nearly every cottage, there was a distaff or spinning wheel and a handloom, for the artisan and his family depended on spinning and weaving for much of their livelihood.

A few detached houses of a more pretentious kind were to be found in the village. The oldest of these, built before 1600, had as many as three bays projecting from the main building to make porch, buttery and parlour with

corresponding bedrooms above them. The iron-studded door with heavy latch, hinges and oak-beam bolt, the long mullioned windows with leaded lights of "bottle glass," the drip stones, the wide troughing beneath the coping stones, and the low-pitched stone roof gave an air of friendliness and comfort. A large living room with a parlour on one side, and kitchen, buttery and store-room on the other, took up the ground floor. A stone staircase led to the little landing from which most of the bedrooms could be entered. Houses built at the end of the 17th century differed slightly. There was usually only one bay which formed the porch and small bedroom, the windows were bigger and divided by mullions and transoms, the house was higher and had a steeper roof. The central hall (originally the living room) was smaller to serve as a reception room, and from it doors led to the dining hall on one side, the parlour on the other, and the kitchen, buttery and other rooms at the back. The important rooms of the houses of 1650 and of 1700 had black, rough-hewn ceiling beams and were panelled in oak. Such places were the homes of very prosperous artisans and employers of labour. They could boast of elaborately carved tables, dressers, cabinets and chairs, cushions and drapery, silver plate, gleaming bronze vessels and pewter ware.

The farmsteads which were to be found in the villages, on the outskirts of the villages, and in every part of the ancient common land, were generally of two types, depending on their age. Most, if not all, of the original 14th and 15th century farmhouses had been rebuilt and on the old sites there now stood well-built stone houses with one or two bays, with the farm buildings placed at some distance from the house. More recently, however, farms had been created out of the enclosed commons and farmsteads had been hurriedly built. In such cases, the farmhouse was quite small, cheaply built and without beauty. The roof was of stone and the thick, roughly-dressed walls had no projections to break the monotony of an uninteresting facade. Built on to one end of the house were the shippon, barn and hayloft; at the other end, there was usually a cottage. The farmyard was very small extending as a narrow strip along the front of the building. It contained not only the dunghill but served as a run for pigs and poultry, a drying place for clothes on washdays, and a playground for young children. At the back of the house or occasionally in front, there was a roughly-built open wooden shed which housed the cart and the few implements that the farmer possessed.

Conditions in the cottage attached to the house were really deplorable. In one instance,⁽⁸⁾ typical of many, one entered first into a little room (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards by 3 yards) with stone flagged floor and unplastered walls; on the right was a raised flagstone for a washbasin (though of course there was no water-tap) and on the left there was a very steep stone staircase without a handrail leading to the only bedroom. An opening in the wall opposite the housedoor served as the entrance into the main room (about 4 yards by 3 yards); here there were two very small windows, a stone-flagged floor and unplastered walls. The fire was made on the open hearth and the smoke escaped through a flue which began at the ceiling and continued through the bedroom to the roof. In the one bedroom, the ceiling was the actual roof of the house. One may well imagine the horrors of a hard winter and the tragic suffering in the event of sickness that had to be endured in such a house by unfortunate men, women and children of Burnley in the second half of the 17th century. These were the homes of families who eked out a living as best they could,—weavers, shoemakers, labourers who helped on the land when the farmer needed them.

It is not difficult to understand why such poverty-stricken farms and cottages were erected. In the first place, the farmer who had acquired a few acres of common land soon found that he required far more capital than he possessed. Stone had to be dug, or, if there were no stone-pits on his land, it had to be bought; walls had to be built round the fields; and lime had to be purchased. Moreover, the ancient farming system had to be radically changed, for as there was no longer any common land, the new small farms had to provide grazing land, meadow land and a certain amount of plough land, with the consequent need for new implements or new kinds of stock. In the second place, the farmer had to begin paying the new rent of 6d. an acre as soon as the few acres of common land were allotted to him. Obviously, the longer the fields remained undrained sedgy moorland, the longer would be the time before they proved a profitable investment. The farmer was therefore very anxious to remove to his new farm as soon as possible in order to begin the draining, manuring, digging and ploughing, by which means alone the land could be brought to a fit state of cultivation. Farm buildings and farm houses consequently suffered; cheapness and utility rather than beauty were the deciding factors in their design, and whatever hardships had to be endured through lack of amenities, the family realised that the farm must be made a paying concern before

8. In the Walshaw District.

they could hope for any great comfort in the house. The low rents for the squalid cottages helped the farmer to pay the farm rents. and, moreover, the cottage-tenants provided a handy source of cheap labour at such times as it was required.

DRESS.

During the period 1650-1750, men's dress was far more ornate and decorative than at the present. A long coat with big cuffs that gave ample room to show off the lace ruffles of the shirt, a lace cravat or stock, an embroidered many-coloured, long waistcoat, knee breeches, stockings gartered at the knees, and buckled shoes gave an air of ostentatious well-being to the man of fashion in the early 18th century. Wigs were worn and were perfumed, powdered and curled for special occasions; the workaday wig was plain and tied in the nape of the neck. A three-cornered hat of beaver-hair or dark felt was the usual headgear. Only the well-to-do could afford such lavish apparel and the less fortunate had to limit their sartorial ambitions to a long drab-coloured coat, stock, long waistcoat, breeches and woollen hose. Jack-boots were often worn out of doors.

Fashion in women's dress did not change very much. The bodice had a V-shaped or a square-cut opening to reveal the stomacher covered with lace, ribbons and embroidery; sleeves reached to the elbow and ended with cuffs from which very wide lace frills or ruffles hung to the best advantage. The top skirt, which reached to the floor, was often open at the front so that the beauty of the embroidered underskirt might be appreciated; the underskirt was hooped and frilled and the top skirt was often looped back to create the effect of a "bustle." Women of the middle class usually wore a short sleeved bodice with a wide silk scarf over the shoulders and fastened in front with a rosette or brooch: the top skirt was open and the underskirt, decorated according to the whim and wealth of the wearer, was usually protected by a richly-patterned apron. Hair dressing styles changed considerably. At one time it was fashionable to have the hair hanging in ringlets with special curls on the forehead, on the temples near the ear, and on the nape of the neck. In the early 18th century, ladies in the best society had their hair built up round cushions or wire frameworks and crowned with artificial fruits, flowers or even model ships.

The working dress of the men was a low-crowned hat with a broad brim, short coat or jacket of coarse woollen or fustian, waistcoat without neck collar and with long-flapping

pockets, a pair of breeches buttoned at the knees and made of fustian or sheep's leather, dark hose, and strong shoes with hob nails.

The working dress of women was a flannel gown with sleeves to the elbow, a petticoat of the same material, and an apron, sometimes of linen, to match. Young women wore their hair down their back, while married women wore mob-caps. Their hose was white or black woollen yarn; the strong shoes were fastened with leather straps and buckles. In cold weather, they wore a woollen cloak with hood; in summer they used a silk handkerchief over the head or a broad-brimmed hat of felt.

FOOD.

Food standards, like clothes, varied according to wealth and social standing. The rich had white bread, butter, preserves, cakes and jellies, fresh meat of all kinds, fruits and wines; they also brewed gallons of beer and were adepts at making punch. The poor lived on porridge, oatbread, rye-bread and oatcakes. Oatcakes were made as havercakes, bannocks and jannocks, all unleavened and differing in size and thickness; 15 lbs. of jannock cost 1s. to buy. An 18th century writer estimated that in the north of England two-fifths of the people lived on oats, one-quarter on wheat, and the remainder, about one-third, on rye. Salt pork and salt meat was the chief meat for most of the year, though beans and fat bacon, and pease pudding with the offal of pig were common dishes. We also read of black-puddings, berry tarts, and roly-poly. Milk at 1d. a quart and butter at 5d. to 8d. a lb. seem fairly cheap, but even at that price a farm labourer had to work 12-14 hours for the equivalent of 2 lbs. of butter. Potatoes, in the earlier part of the period, were uncommon and were generally regarded as delicacies for the rich; they were not probably grown as a field crop around Burnley until after 1750, and even in 1800 potato-fields were something quite unusual.⁽⁹⁾ Ale and beer were cheap and formed the staple drink of all classes; "Green Teay" at 7s. 6d. a lb.⁽¹⁰⁾ was obviously too dear for an artisan. Gin, that was later to cause so much disaster to health and morals, became very common in towns, but the villagers probably kept to their ale and beer.

WAGES.

During the period under review, the wages of the labouring classes were very low, barely sufficient indeed to maintain life. In 1673, the maximum rate of pay for a

9. Rate Book for 1800.

10. Diary of Sagar of Catlow (at Towneley Hall).

journeyman weaver was 4d. a day with meat and drink, or 8d. a day without; a weaver hired by the year might demand £3 a year if he were exceptionally skilful, but normally he was paid £2 10s. 0d. A fair average for a weaver's wage would thus appear to be about 3s. a week. Earnings in other trades were on a comparable scale, although owing to the large numbers entering the textile industries, there was something of a labour shortage in agricultural occupations, and wages began to rise. In 1725, a skilled farm worker earned 1s. a day in summer and 10d. a day during the rest of the year: the corresponding rates for an unskilled hand were 10d. and 9d. Similarly, in 1725, a mason and a carpenter repairing a Burnley farmhouse were paid 10d. a day.

It is clear that these inadequate wages had to be supplemented by other means. A man's main source of income had to be added to by what casual and seasonal employment he could secure, while his wife and children, even to the youngest, were compelled to work at home-industries to contribute their share to the family earnings. Defoe's vivid description of conditions in the Halifax district in 1714 may be taken to apply equally well to Burnley: "Though we met few people without doors, yet within, we saw the houses full of lusty fellows, some at the dye-vat, some at the looms, others dressing the cloths; the women and children carding and spinning, all employed, from youngest to oldest; scarce anything above four years old, but its hands were sufficient for its own support." (This deplorable exploitation of child labour persisted well into the 19th century).

Thus few men earned their livelihood exclusively by industry or agriculture. Many weavers had small enclosed fields attached to their cottages, on which they could keep a cow, a pig, and poultry, and perhaps grow a small quantity of oats. On the other hand, farm labourers and other non-textile workers, though better paid than weavers, increased their incomes by spare-time work; any little money that could be earned by carding, spinning and weaving, or by any other casual occupation was a welcome addition to the family income.

MORALITY.

The Age of the later Stuarts and early Hanoverians 1660-1760 was not noted for its idealism. In the early part of the period, there was a great deal of moral laxity and though there was some slight revival of religious sentiment about 1700, it soon died out and the later years were characterised by a general spiritual stagnation. Religion for the most part

lost its power to create enthusiasm for social justice. The wealthier classes were too often engrossed in the pursuit either of material success or of pleasure, and contemptuous of spiritual and cultural values: the poor for the most part were coarse, brutish and ignorant. Dishonesty was found in all sections of society, drunkenness and cruelty were common, and selfishness and indifference to suffering pointed to widespread moral apathy. Conditions were worst in the larger town and cities, but even in the villages conditions were far from satisfactory. Many examples from local records might be given, of which the following are typical:—A sacred Communion flagon presented to St. Peter's Church in 1714 by the Rev. Edmund Townley found its way before 1722 to the Sparrow Hawk where it was used for many years "to fill ale in";⁽¹¹⁾ boys of the Grammar School held an annual "cockfight"⁽¹²⁾ that was marked by a particularly brutal callousness; the funds of the poor stock, which was intended to relieve paupers, together with the money bequeathed to the poor of Burnley, were kept by the overseers and trustees for their own benefit.⁽¹³⁾

There were of course individuals and small associations of men and women who fought against the moral laxity of the age and there were men who had some degree of culture. In Burnley there were youths who gave up an assured income to become badly paid nonconformist ministers, serving their God among the poor and lower classes; there was Dr. Whittaker of Healey Hall, the friend and supporter of Thomas Jolly, parson of Altham and stern exponent of Puritan ideals. A body of Burnley weavers faced ridicule and punishment by striving to live according to Christian principles, and one of them, Ann Bruer, probably gloried in her nickname of "Godly."⁽¹⁴⁾ Benjamin Robertshaw, Headmaster of the Grammar School and Parish Clerk, possessed a library that showed wide and cultured reading.⁽¹⁵⁾

FIELD SPORTS.

Among those classes whose energies were not fully occupied in earning a living, such diversions as hunting, coursing and cock-fighting were popular. Local records contain some interesting facts about these sports.

Mr. Tattersall Wilkinson has published in his "Memories of Hurstwood" some verses of a hunting song which were written, in his opinion, about 1700. They record a famous buckhunt by Parker of Extwistle, Towneley of

11. Waddington Papers.

12. Strange—Diary of Robertshaw.

13. See p. 60.

14. Ch. Reg.

15. Strange—Diary of Robertshaw.

Towneley, Townley of Royle, Ormerod of Ormerod, Starkie of Huntroyd, "an' lots moor," including Smith of Pighoyle (Pighole Farm, Briercliffe). This song, as published, seems to combine two versions of the same theme, varying in the places mentioned. If the horses and dogs "swept helter-skelter o'er Extwistle Moor," over Haggate and Shelfield, through Trawden Forest and over Boulsworth to Wycollar Moor, and then back and over to Longridge, finally making the kill "o'er Pendle Water," it must surely have been a truly classic hunt.

Fox-hunting was carried out as long as there were foxes in the district, but their numbers were greatly reduced by farmers and others who were anxious to earn the shilling that was paid by the churchwardens for a fox-head. In the parish accounts we may read of many cases where the shilling was paid; in 1737, there were three fox-heads paid for. Wealthy people, such as the Towneleys, employed a huntsman. An otherwise unknown "Mr. Gibson" had a huntsman in 1732; John Nutter of Extwistle followed the same occupation in 1710.⁽¹⁶⁾ When foxes became practically extinct in the district, sport was found in hare-hunting. The season opened on October 1st and closed on March 15th. The pack was fairly successful if we can judge by the following statistics:⁽¹⁷⁾ 32 hares killed in 1759, 58 in 1767, 59 in 1776 and 48 in 1779. In 1770, 49 hares were "raised" on 32 separate hunting days by one particular pack of hunters. The hares were given to the dogs and sometimes to members of the hunt; on one occasion, Dr. Parkinson of Hollingreave received the prize. The hunting took place in many districts, including Boulsworth, Thursden, Shelfield, Extwistle, Cockden, Marsden Heights, Lomeshaw, Winewall, Red Lees, Rowley and Fence. The week before Christmas was the most popular time for the "meets."

Cock-fighting was certainly a very common sport in Burnley. Tradition has handed down the story of the famous fight at Mereclough between the cocks of Towneley and Ormerod, and again tradition has it that the town cock-pit was situated in the copse near the Grammar School where a deep depression in the ground that may have been the fighting arena could be seen a little time ago. More evidence is available for a contest at Liverpool in 1790 when Thomas Townley Parker of Cuerden and Extwistle and another gentleman fought cocks in 41 separate contests which lasted for four days; the prize was ten guineas for the winner in each fight and two hundred guineas for most victories. Grammar

School boys had an annual cockfight followed by a bonfire, but some authorities on the 18th century maintain that these school "cockfights" were "cock-shies" when the boys stoned the birds until they died or escaped.⁽¹⁸⁾ Each boy contributed 1d. towards the cost of the day's proceedings.⁽¹⁹⁾

POPULATION AND HEALTH.

The population increased from about 1,500 in 1650 to approximately 2,500 in 1750.⁽²⁰⁾ This increase was due to larger families, immigration into Burnley from surrounding districts, and a lower rate of mortality. Families of ten and twelve were not uncommon and we read of one labourer "who had about twenty children living."⁽²¹⁾ The newcomers to Burnley such as the Toppers, Crooks and Eastwoods were generally connected with the textile industry which was rapidly expanding. At the same time, the death rate was much lower than in the previous hundred years. Plague which had in Tudor and early Stuart times killed off a large proportion of the population had lost its virulence, and though it was replaced by typhus, cholera, smallpox and possibly severe influenza, the new diseases did not so frequently prove fatal. So few people escaped the ravages of smallpox that it was thought that everyone at some time in life must inevitably fall a victim: fortunately, only about 20 per cent. of cases proved fatal, though pock marks disfigured the faces of most people. The practice of inoculation against smallpox was introduced into England about 1720, but it is doubtful whether the new treatment was adopted in Burnley at such an early date. Among other diseases of the period were rickets, scurvy and consumption, which all claimed their victims. The average number of burials in Burnley between 1650 and 1750 was about 60, but the numbers for individual years varied considerably:—54 in 1659, 47 in 1661, 66 in 1670, 131 in 1700 (an epidemic year), 60 in 1710, 55 in 1740, 96 in 1755 and 92 in 1756 (famine years).⁽²²⁾

Among the people who had their homes in Burnley⁽²³⁾ were William Macquaritch, a Scotsman, and William Tibbley, an Irishman, who doubtless talked of their old homes, while Henry Parkinson, John Smith, Lieutenant John Ingham, Sergeant Peter Bolton, Michael Taylor and John Radcliffe were ready to thrill audiences with tales of adventures in battle; John Barwick of "Harrison's Regiment" perhaps

18. Turberville—Johnson's England.

19. Strange—Diary of Robertshaw.

20. Based on rentals and later census figures.

21. Letter to Sagar of Catlow (Central Library).

22. Ch. Reg.

23. Ibid.

talked of his fanatical commander who, as a Fifth Monarchy man, claimed that none but Christ should govern, and therefore refused to accept the rule of Cromwell.

In spite of sickness and hardship, some of the working classes attained a ripe old age. According to the burial register, pride of place for longevity must go to John Pollard, who dying in 1697 "is aged 114 years by his own computation and the best instructions that can be had." Of course, John Pollard may have been baptised in some church other than St. Peter's, but certainly our local register does not mention him in 1583; the nearest are the records of the baptism of John, son of Ralph Pollard, in 1577 and of John, son of John Pollard, in 1595. There is the same lack of evidence in confirmation of a report⁽²⁴⁾ sent to the Royal Society that John Sagar of Burnley died about 1688 at the age of 112; a similar report stated that Susan Eveson of Simonstone lived to be 108. More reliable is the evidence for the advanced age of Anne Booth who died a pauper in 1704 aged 102, John Lancaster in 1724 aged 100, John Smith in 1707 and Lawrence Briercliffe of Burwains in 1700, both aged 95. The wife of Nicholas Townley of Royle died at the age of 93 and quite a considerable number reached their eightieth year.

LAW BREAKING.

In this period, as in all others, the representatives of law and order were frequently called upon to exercise their authority. The constable, assisted by three "watchmen,"⁽²⁵⁾ was the chief local executive officer of the law; he carried an emblazoned staff and occasionally a gun, but the watchmen were armed with halberds. The local Justices of the Peace held their Private or Privy Sessions at their own houses. Here, minor offences were tried and punished but more serious cases were sent to the Quarter Sessions. The Court of Quarter Sessions, held by a body of Justices at Preston, Lancaster, and occasionally at Whalley and Clitheroe, was most important for it not only dispensed justice, but exercised wide administrative powers. In this Court, the work of local surveyors of roads was supervised and reports that roads were "foul, dirty and in great decay" were investigated; affiliation orders were issued; "preaching houses" were

24. Axon—*Echoes of Old Lancs.*, pp. 24 and 29.

25. Watchmen were usually artisans who were appointed to assist the constable. In 1685, one was a blacksmith by trade, another was a tailor. Probably they assisted only at night-time and on special occasions, such as market days and fair days.

licensed; unlicensed badgers (corn dealers) and alehouse keepers were punished; oaths to parish officials were administered—to name only a few of the Court's multifarious duties. The Assize Court tried the most serious offences.

Cases of assault, libel, theft, murder, etc., were not uncommon but it is impossible to give here more than a few representative examples. In 1678, John Slater of Burnley, clothier, accused his servant, Margaret Ainley, of "running away" and taking his goods; she was found after a hue and cry at Ormskirk and sent to the House of Correction.⁽²⁶⁾ In April, 1685, John Habergham, gentleman, George Duerden, labourer, Elizabeth Gillibrand, spinster, and Elizabeth Brooks, spinster, all of Burnley, assaulted Richard Whitehead, constable, and stole his cow; at the Privy Sessions, a levy of 44s. 5½d. was made "on the goods and chattels of John Habergham for the relief of the poor of Burnley," a decision that was upheld by the Quarter Sessions.⁽²⁷⁾ What was perhaps a drunken brawl at the annual Burnley Fair in 1681 led to a report being sent on July 14th by Edward Holt, constable of Burnley, to the Justices of the Peace which stated that "John Denby of Padiham by force and arms assaulted the watchmen in Burnley and broke one of their halberds and declared that he cared not for any J.P. in England nor constable neither and said if he could meet the constable he would stick him to the head and other outrages he committed to the great terror of many of His Majesty's liege people."⁽²⁸⁾ In 1687 the Assize Court enquired into the grievances of Henry Sagar of Burnley, clothier, who complained that James Hargreaves of Marsden, yeoman and lawyer, persistently tried to ruin him by legal actions and, in particular, "has commenced an action of £27 10s. at the suit of John Whittle of Yealand, Yorks., without the consent of John Whittle and by such means has taken away his credit which is the support of his livelihood."⁽²⁹⁾ There were many cases of ordinary theft: John Thomas of Burnley stole a sheep skin belonging to Richard Towneley and sold it in Accrington;⁽³⁰⁾ William Savage was found "skulking under a chaff bed in the house of Thomas Riding" from which he had stolen £12, a waistcoat and the pair of stockings that he was wearing. Horse stealing was not uncommon and John Stables, "a wandering fellow," confessed at the Privy Sessions before Townley of Royle that he had taken a horse from a field belonging to Charles Duckworth of Filly Close but he would

26. County R.O. QSP. 484-36.

27. County R.O. Quarter Sessions Roll, 1685.

28. County R.O. QSP. 537-2.

29. P.R.O. P.L. 27-1.

30. Ibid.

not sign his confession.⁽³¹⁾ Rather more serious was the case of John Holmes of Burnley, dyer, who in 1690 had his dye-house broken into and cloth taken to the value of £3 1s. 8d.; Miles Baron of Pendleton, journeyman dyer, said that his master, Edward Brewer, late of Pendleton, dyer, had made him take his grey horse, ride to Burnley, and break John Holmes' dyehouse and that he took one piece of plain cloth, 24 yards long, blue in colour, which Brewer changed to brown.⁽³²⁾ Highwaymen appeared in Padiham but not, as far as we know, in Burnley. Evidence given before the Assize Court in 1687 showed that four highwaymen on their way from Settle to Manchester were arrested at Padiham, where one was found to be carrying a vizard while a pistol was found "hid at a bawk end in the room where they were in." They were found guilty and sent to prison.⁽³³⁾

One case of theft will illustrate the conditions in a Burnley inn. John Whittaker of Broadclough was drinking at 1 a.m. on June 30th (a Fair day) in a Burnley tavern and invited Henry Haworth of Tunsteads to "sitt him down and drink with him." Haworth, however, had no money so he refused and said he would go home. At 3 a.m. Whittaker was asleep in the parlour of the tavern but woke up to find Haworth "busie about his pocket" and asking "How he did." Haworth again said that he was going home and then "went into the house part but stayed there none at all." Early the following morning, the landlady's married daughter reported the loss of 20-30 shillings "gone out of her pocket." When Haworth was searched by a watchman, he had in his pocket 4s. 8½d. in cash and a brass ring which the lady affirmed had been stolen from her.

Murder and manslaughter were not unknown in Burnley. In 1673 a woman with the help of a male confederate killed her husband as he was drying corn in a kiln; neighbours gave evidence against them and both were duly punished:⁽³⁴⁾ in 1687 Edward Whittaker of Rossendale was "slain" in the house of Thomas Travers, innkeeper.⁽³⁵⁾ A case of manslaughter at Marsden Pit in 1683 is interesting because it shows the long distance to which local coal was taken. According to the evidence at the trial, James Taylor of Coniston Cold, near Gargrave, claimed the repayment of a loan of 2d. from Robert Smith, one of the "winders." John Wharfe of Coniston Cold joined in the heated discussion whereupon Smith threw "a cob of coal, the bigness of a man's

31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*

34. Oliver Heywood's Diary III 205.
35. P.R.O. P.L. 27-1

fiſt” which unfortunately hit Wharfe on the head ſo that he ſhortly afterwards died. With Wharfe and Taylor from Coniſton Cold was William Houghton of Eſhton near Gargrave.⁽³⁶⁾

RIOTS IN BURNLEY.

Much more ſerious trouble occurred during 1685, the firſt year of the reign of the Catholic James II. In the earlier part of that year, many inhabitants of the town refuſed to pay their rates⁽³⁷⁾ and the caſe of John Habergham, mentioned above, may be connected with that incident. Then the ſignal for greater diſturbance was given and the ſlumbering fires of religious-political differences blazed again when on July 5th the revolt of the Proteſtant Duke of Monmouth againſt the Catholic King James II was cruſhed at Sedgemoor. The Catholic ſection was led by Towneley while the ſupporters of the Eſtabliſhed Church found leaders in the parſon, Robert Hartley and the conſtable, Richard Whittaker. The details of the diſturbance are deſcribed in the evidence given before the J.P.s at Quarter Sessions and before the Juſtices at the Lancaſter Aſſize to whom the caſe was referred.

According to ſtatements made to the J.P.s,⁽³⁸⁾ Charles Towneley of Towneley and James Mercer, headmaſter of the Grammar School, on July 10th aſſaulted the conſtable, Richard Whittaker, while he was carrying out his duties: on the ſame day, Towneley and Joſeph Wood, carpenter, aſſaulted the conſtable. In ſpite of the fact that the headmaſter made his peace with the conſtable through the good offices of Nicholas Townley of Royle, Mercer was bound over to appear at the next Quarter Sessions, bail being fixed at £10 on his own recognizances and a further guarantee of £5 from Nicholas Townley; Wood was ordered to appear and had a bail of £10 with two guarantors of £20 each. Robert Hartley, parſon of St. Peter's, and William Bradkirk, gentleman, were alſo ordered to appear before the Quarter Sessions for aſſaulting Towneley.

Three days later on July 13th, matters took a ſurpriſing turn for the High Conſtable arreſted the Burnley conſtable and his three watchmen and ordered Henry Leigh, the conſtable of Habergham Eaves, with ten men to take them to Preſton gaol. Leigh diſcharged five of his aſſiſtants and with the others conveyed the four priſoners from Burnley to Preſton by way of Whalley, where they ſtayed overnight. Leigh's expenſes, including “meat and drink in Burnley at

36. Ibid.

37. County R.O. QSP. 597-18.

38. County R.O. QSP. 606—1.4.5.18.; Quarter Sessions Roll, 1685.

the house of John Greenwood" (one of Wood's guarantors) amounted to £2.⁽³⁹⁾ The J.P.s sent the case for trial to the Assizes where it was adjourned for further evidence. This is seen from a note "Dated at Alex. Browne's at Black Lane Head this 12th Jan., 1685. There having been some disorders and riots that were committed at Burnley about the tenth of July last and His Majesty having been therewith acquainted was pleased to refer the same to His Justices of Assize at Lancaster that upon due examination thereof the offenders might receive such condign punishment as the law affords in such cases but their worships not finding the proofs to their satisfactions at the last assizes are now pleased to Sir Roger Bradshaw, Kt., Coll. Rawsthorne, Coll. Rigby, James Holt, Christopher Parker, Thomas Parker, Edward Osbaldstone, Cap. Greenhalgh, and George Halstead, Esq., to examine the said business fully and report the same to the Judges at Lancaster—whereunto we whose names are hereunto subscribed have taken depositions to the said order and have returned the same, showing that the accused stand bound to appear and therefore their recognizances must remain."⁽⁴⁰⁾

Depositions for the Catholic section were taken at Clayton and those for their opponents at Haslingden.⁽⁴¹⁾ Charles Towneley said that on July 10th (five days after the battle) he heard "the good news of the prosperous defeat of the rebels and to prevent idle stories in Burnley" sent to ask Nicholas Townley of Royle to meet him in the town. Later in the day he joined Nicholas Townley, Robert Hartley, the minister, and several others, "drinking." "The good news" was read out in public and all agreed to ring the church bell, have a bonfire and buy ale for the "common people" to drink the King's health, "except Robert Hartley, the minister, who was discontented at the news" and left the company with the excuse that he had a burial service to attend. The bonfire was started, the ale was consumed and, after the interment was over, Towneley ordered the parish clerk to ring the bell: this the clerk refused to do so Towneley himself rang it and then paid ringers to carry on until 8 p.m. The sequence of events may best be described from the evidence of numerous witnesses. At 8 p.m. Parson Hartley's wife ordered the ringers to stop saying "They had had folly enough. Mr. Towneley had had his pleasure all the day, she would have hers at night." She then locked up the Church and gave the key to another woman with whom she went "drinking" at the house of Thomas Preston, tailor and innkeeper. When

39. County R.O. QSP. 607-8.
40. County R.O. QSP. 611-7.

41. P.R.O. P.L. 27-1.

the bell stopped, Towneley came to make enquiries; he asked Mistress Hartley for the key and being refused a quarrel ensued and each made some bitter reflections on the other's moral character. Christopher Wilkinson of Towneley then asked for the key but was refused and told that he only wanted it "to say Mass in the Church." Towneley then employed Joseph Wood to break a window in the Church, enter the belfry and continue the peal, though Wood stated that there was no damage done for "the bar was not on the door." The constable, Richard Whittaker, who "was down town to set the watch according to custom" brought his three men up to the scene of the disturbance. The fracas began when the constable attempted to carry Wood to the stocks. Wilkinson struck the constable across the face with a cane, fearing that "he might charge his breech" against Towneley. John Ingham, one of the watch, struck at Towneley with his halberd and shouted "Knock them down, Papish dogs"; George Whittaker, another watchman, kicked at Towneley; Thomas Fish "stroke him with his foot as he rose again"; one by-stander struck at Towneley's head with a pitch-fork; another cried "God — thee, why dost thou not kill that Papish Dogg." A labourer said that Towneley and Ingham were "down by the eares together" and that he pulled Towneley's hands out of Ingham's hair. All this in spite of Towneley's appeal (according to one of Towneley's witnesses) "Good Watch, be quiet and if I have made a fault I shall willingly make amends." Towneley was escorted by his friends into a neighbouring inn kept by John Greenwood (probably the Sparrow Hawk). During the scrimmage, Towneley had lost his hat and therefore at 12 p.m. the same night went to Whittaker's house to recover it; Whittaker opened the door but when he saw his visitor "he flew from his house lest harm befall him." Towneley retaliated by breaking windows. The hat was found next day in the street by two of Towneley's servants.

SOCIAL GRADES.

The three grades of society in Burnley—the rich, the middle class, the poor—gradually became more distinct than ever during this period. There was a great increase in the wealth and consequence of the landed gentry, while the wealthier merchants and manufacturers drew away more and more from their humbler fellow-townsmen. On the other hand, many formerly independent artisans found their status depressed to that of wage-earners in the employ of others. Thus the division between the various classes in the community were more strongly marked and the contrast in their

respective standards of living grew more conspicuous. Records which have been preserved concerning local families of the different classes will illustrate the wide divergences in mode of life.

THE GENTRY.

The three wealthiest families in the Burnley area were the Towneleys of Towneley, the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe, and the Townleys of Royle. The wealth and activities of the Towneleys of Towneley will be separately described in a later chapter.

The Shuttleworths had little influence on Burnley during the greater part of this period as they were living at Forcet near Richmond. Richard Shuttleworth 1587-1669, whose life and work have already been noticed, was a Presbyterian and officiated at marriage ceremonies at St. Peter's, though his services in that respect do not seem to have been appreciated by Burnley people as a whole. Two of his brothers were lawyers, one being a member of Gray's Inn and the other a member of Lincoln's Inn; his son, Richard 1608-1648, was a member of the famous Long Parliament. On the death of the father in 1669, the estates passed to a grandson, another Richard 1644-1681, who took up his residence at Forcet and left Gawthorpe to the care of a bailiff. His son 1666-1687 and grandson 1686-1747 both resided at Forcet; the latter was a member of Parliament 1705-1747.⁽⁴²⁾

The Shuttleworth family possessed Gawthorpe with lands and farms at High Whittaker, Copthurst and Filly Close. Barbon, Austwick near Settle, Barton near Preston, and Forcet. In Burnley, they held 33 acres of land and farms near the Municipal Hospital, nearly 70 acres on Broadhead mostly near the Summit, the lease of Ightenhill Park, and the lease of Burnley corn mill. The subsidy roll of 1660⁽⁴³⁾ gives Richard Shuttleworth's income from his lands in the Hundred of Blackburn as £1,000 on which he paid a tax of £20. (Richard Towneley paid £10).

By contrast, the Townleys of Royle were very intimately connected with Burnley affairs. They were sheriffs, justices of the peace, greaves of the manor, churchwardens and overseers. Nicholas 1574-1645 seems to have laid the foundations of the family fortunes, for he held Royle (62 acres), Cronkshaw (47 acres), Clifton and Whittlefield (178 acres), 16 acres on Saxifield and 166 acres in Briercliffe

42. Shuttleworth Papers.

43. P.R.O. Lay Sub. Roll 250-4.

(Blackhouse Lane, Shorey and Herd House) and Walshaw. In addition, he had the lease of a coalmine in Briercliffe worth £20 a year and the Limestone Scars on Boulsworth. For all these properties he paid an annual rent of £5 12s. 0d. to the lord of the manor.⁽⁴⁴⁾ As his only child Margaret followed the Catholic religion of her mother and married a Catholic, she was disinherited, and the Royle estates passed to Robert, his brother, and thence to the latter's grandson, another Nicholas. This Nicholas married Susan Barcroft and thus the Lodge Farm and several other farms in the vicinity were added to the Royle estate. Of their children, Nicholas and Edmund were the most important. Nicholas gave to the Church and Grammar School a farm called "Cockridge" at the head of Thursden Valley. Edmund, born in 1652, was educated at the Grammar School, took his degree at Cambridge, married Margaret Shuttleworth, and in 1690 became the Rector of Slaidburn. He was keenly interested in St. Peter's, to which he made large gifts in his lifetime and bequeathed a large sum of money in his will; he also secured the right to nominate the parson of St. Peter's. He made grants to the Grammar School which possesses part of his library. The Royle and Lodge estates passed to Nicholas' son, Thomas, and then to his son, another Thomas. The last mentioned died in 1770, leaving his property to an only daughter, Anne, who married Robert Parker, of Cuerden and Extwistle. Their son, Thomas Townley Parker, was succeeded by Robert Townley Parker, father of Canon Arthur Townley Parker, first Rector of Burnley 1855-1901.

THE LESSER GENTRY.

The lesser gentry lived a happy life in fine, well-built houses surrounded by trees, orchards and gardens, and with well-stocked barns at some little distance away. They rode to hounds, visited the markets, regularly attended the Church and took an active part in parish affairs. It has been usual to regard these local gentry as typical 18th century squires, drinking for long hours in a hostelry, and discussing past, present and future cock-fights, fox-hunts, and bull-baits. It is very doubtful, however, whether the richest section of Burnley's community did in fact spend much of their time in local inns. They probably indulged in all the usual sports of the time.

In 1650, the most notable families of this class were the Halsteads of Bankhouse, the Halsteads of Rowley, the Halsteads of Westgate, the Haydocks of Heasandford, the

44. Royle Estate Book.

Haberghams of Habergham Hall, the Inghams of Fulfilledge, the Parkers of Extwistle and the Whittakers of Healey Hall. A hundred years later, we still find among this particular section of the community the Halsteads of Rowley and the Halsteads of Westgate, but the Halsteads of Bankhouse, the Haberghams and the Inghams have disappeared, though the Blackmores of Fulfilledge have taken the prominent place formerly occupied by the Inghams. The Haydocks continued to reside at Heasandford and the Whittakers at Healey, but the Parkers had transferred their main interests to Cuerden. In addition, the Sagars of Coal Clough seem to merit a place among the lesser gentry of the later period.

Most of these wealthy men derived their incomes from selling corn, wool, etc., and from the rents of farms which they sub-let to tenants. The Halsteads of Westgate held farms but they also engaged in the textile industry, and one of them erected a mill and a dyeing shed. The Sagars were farmers and manufacturers, while Blackmore of Fulfilledge House was fortunate in having on his land coalmines which proved to be most valuable.

As illustration of the wealth and the mode of life of the lesser gentry of Burnley we may take the case of the Halsteads of Bankhouse. The various heads of the family were as follows:—(1) Dr. George Halstead had a medical practice in Manchester or Bolton but he maintained a close connection with his Burnley home. He married Elizabeth Halstead, a widow from Extwistle; his son, George, took the degree of B.D. and became a Fellow of Corpus Christi, Oxford. He died unmarried. (2) Henry 1641-1728, youngest brother of George, took the degree of B.D. and became the Rector of Stansfield in Suffolk. He was a firm friend and supporter of St. Peter's and of the Grammar School, to which he made valuable gifts. The School still preserves an oil painting of the Reverend Henry Halstead by Kneller which shows him as a well-built, well-nourished and jovial man in his late fifties wearing the wig and cravat of the period. It was during his ownership of Bankhouse that the old 15th century timbered farmstead was pulled down and a new house erected in 1721. (3) Henry, son of the above, died unmarried in 1731 and the estate then passed to Charles Halstead of Rowley who sold Bankhouse to the Church. It then became the new Rectory, replacing the old Parsonage as the home of the incumbents of St. Peter's.

The income of Dr. George Halstead from his lands in Burnley was given in 1660 as £120. The property consisted of Bankhouse and lands, two houses near the bottom

of the present Bridge Street, a house with smithy at Kibble Bank or Walshaw, and nine other farms with approximately 150 acres. Among the latter farms were Habergham, Hoodhouse, Kitfield, Hargher Clough, Smallshaw and Kerriall. The total rent paid to the lord of the manor was £3 12s. 1d.⁽⁴⁵⁾

An inventory of the goods of John Sagar of Coal Clough,⁽⁴⁶⁾ who died in 1722, may be of some interest. The house consisted of a parlour, dining room, kitchen, buttery, little buttery, and bedrooms, including one over the porch. Brass, pewter, a clock, "joiner goods," tables, chairs and a chest were valued at £10; a cupboard, clock, press and table in the parlour were worth £11; beds and bedding were estimated at £8; fire "ierne," wood vessels, and other goods were valued at £28, tools and implements at £10. On the farm there were two horses, four plough oxen, and 14 other cattle including four milk cows. His apparel and dress was worth £30. The total value of his goods was a little over £170, but we know that he also possessed a "shop" (small factory) probably at Coal Clough and several farms and cottages at Bridge End. Debts amounting to over £150 were owing to John Sagar when he died which were possibly contracted in connection with his textile business.

PROFESSIONAL MEN.

Among the more prominent inhabitants of Burnley at this time were a number of professional men. These included parsons and schoolmasters, of whom more will be said in a later chapter, doctors, apothecaries, and lawyers.

The medical fraternity⁽⁴⁷⁾ was well represented by Dr. John Hargreaves of Higham (died in 1662), Dr. Worton, also a preacher at St. Peter's (died in 1698), Dr. Robert Whittaker (died in 1703), Dr. Dawson (died in 1726) and Dr. Ecroyd (living in 1751). Entry into the medical profession was gained by serving an apprenticeship of seven years with a qualified surgeon or physician, or by obtaining a medical degree at a university; hospital practice was not regarded as an essential qualification. Qualified doctors wore gowns and enormous wigs in the early part of the 18th century, but this custom was later discarded. They went their rounds on horseback and, of course, attended their patients in the surgery; they made up their own medicine and occasionally added to their income by making cosmetics and snuff. Operations were performed by a surgeon but a

45. Halmot Court Roll, May 5th, 1622.

47. Ch. Reg.

46. Farrer Papers.

physician was usually present. Anaesthetics were unknown, but a temporary stupor might be induced by the use of opium, sufficient quantities of ale or spirits, or even a knock on the head with a stick. Teeth were extracted by doctors in Burnley at the price of 4d. a tooth. The only local doctor's bill, still in existence for this period is one of 5s. due to Dr. John Ecroyd for "fisick and tendance."

Dr. Whittaker of Healey Hall was born in 1640 and after an education at the Grammar School entered in 1658 St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated as M.D. At his burial in St. Peter's on Jan. 24th, 1703, it was recorded that he was "Medic. 50 years" which seems to be an exaggeration, unless he qualified by serving an apprenticeship at a very early age before he entered the University. Dr. Dawson probably did qualify by serving under a doctor, for in 1594 when he married Margaret Sallom of Clayton, his occupation was given as "hatter." One of his sons, Thomas, became a schoolmaster in Heptonstall and in 1731 was joint owner of the Thorn Inn.

A great deal of quackery was practised by some country doctors in the 18th century; even our Dr. Dawson of Burnley was decried in some quarters as a charlatan and "magician," though possibly professional jealousy on the part of those with a more academic training might be the explanation. No such complaint was made against Dr. Whittaker. One well known 18th century prescription to cure a slow fever was to apply a live tench to the feet of the patient; after twelve hours of this treatment, the fish was buried "quietly." John Wesley advocated the application of wallflowers and salt to the head of a person who seemed likely to have a fit. One learned physician of 1748 maintained that the sun and moon produced diseases in the body, and that a thorough knowledge of the movements of the celestial bodies was essential to all medical men. Henry Krabtree, curate of Todmorden 1662-1692, was noted as an astrologer and doctor. On one occasion when a month-old baby died, he ascribed its short existence to the fact that it had been born when the sun was setting and at the time of a full moon. Krabtree's curious combination of medicine and astrology was tempered by sound advice—The month of October "requires that you consult with your tailor as well as with your physician. Therefore a good suit of warm cloth is worth two purges and one vomit. Keep warm betimes, for cold creeps upon men insensibly and fogs ofttimes beget a whole winter's distemper."

The study of the sun, moon and stars was widely pursued by scientific astronomers and quack astrologers. We should very much like to know to which category Thomas

Sagar of Burnley belonged, for at his death in 1726 he was described as "a watcher of the stars."

Sharing with the doctors the duty of administering to the sick were the apothecaries, who, under certain conditions, could set up as medical practitioners, though they might not have had any training for their adopted profession. They usually relied on their native wit, a little medical knowledge, a certain skill in bleeding, and a wide experience in the use of herbs and the application of leeches. They were not allowed to charge fees for attendance so that the poor were usually their patients; their income came from their charges for medicines, drugs, leeches and bandages. They kept shops in which were displayed large bottles filled with coloured liquids, stuffed alligators and fearsome reptiles. They wore wigs and gowns and, when necessary, visited patients in their homes. Two Burnley apothecaries of the period⁽⁴⁸⁾ were Richard Lawe (died in 1744) and William Holt (living in 1731 and 1750). William Holt was a man of some wealth, for in 1737 he joined with Lawrence Ormerod of Ormerod and Gilbert Holden of Hollin in sharing the cost of erecting a gallery in the west end of St. Peter's.⁽⁴⁹⁾ An apothecary living in Burnley in 1780 was Thomas Gilbertson who lived in an old house in Water Street, just behind where the Palace now stands; he had a yard and a cottage where he prepared his drugs and he grew his herbs in the "Mint Field," now the Cattle Market in Parker Lane.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Gilbertson probably took over the business from William Holt.

There are many instances of sons of Burnley's lesser gentry, professional men, and often yeoman farmers becoming clergymen in the Established Church or in a Nonconformist Chapel. The Halsteads of Bankhouse have already been noticed; William Halstead of Bridge End became the headmaster of Buckingham School and at the same time held two near-by livings.⁽⁵¹⁾ The son of William Whip, who lived near the Lodge Farm, became the Vicar of Leighton Buzzard.⁽⁵²⁾ Benjamin Robertshaw, son of the headmaster, matriculated at Brasenose College in 1699, took the degree of M.A. at King's College at the age of 18, became Vicar of Peen in 1716, and the Rector of Agmondesham, Bucks.⁽⁵³⁾ Thomas Robertshaw, another son of the headmaster, became a curate at Huddersfield, where he died in 1719.⁽⁵⁴⁾ Charles Sagar was a Presbyterian minister; Thomas, son of Dr. Whittaker of Healey, took the degree of Master of Arts at Edinburgh and for 34 years was a nonconformist minister in Leeds.⁽⁵⁵⁾

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Farrer Papers.*

50. *Rate Book of 1800.*

51. See p. 145.

52. *Ch. Reg.*

53. *Reg. of King's Coll.*

54. *Ch. Reg.*

55. *Farrer Papers.*

CIVIL SERVANTS.

The growing importance of Burnley is shown by the fact that certain civil servants had their headquarters in the town.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Simon Blakey, living in 1723 at Burnley Lane Head, was the tax collector. To him were paid the taxes specially levied by Parliament—the land tax (3s. in the £ in 1690, 1s. in 1735, 4s. in 1798), the window tax (1695-1851), and the hearth tax (1663-1689). Edmund Luty (living in 1716) and John Bragg (living in 1754) were “gaugers” or excise officers. They were responsible for the inspection of all measures, and the collection of duties on excisable goods and commodities.

The most interesting civil appointment was that of James Pullon who died in 1711 and was described as “Post-master General of Burnley.” Originally the duty of a post-master was to provide posthorses on the four great roads of England at a charge of 2d. a mile, and to receive and forward to London any letters and packages that were handed to him; from London, the letters and parcels were sent to their destination. Burnley probably became a postal town about 1700 when arrangements were made to connect all market towns with the nearest large town that happened to be already a postal centre. At first, there was probably only one post a week, but by 1721 there were posts from Manchester to Rochdale and Yorkshire on Sundays, Tuesdays and Fridays, and a return post of equal frequency;⁽⁵⁷⁾ it is reasonable to suppose that Burnley was included in the 1721 arrangements. In 1800, the Burnley Post Office was a small whitewashed cottage near the Boot Inn and it may have been there that James Pullon carried out his duties.

BENJAMIN ROBERTSHAW.

A special section has been given to Benjamin Robertshaw because his activities illustrate the kind of life that was lived by professional men in Burnley at the beginning of the 18th century.⁽⁵⁸⁾ He was the Headmaster of the Burnley Grammar School and Parish Clerk for 32 years (1696-1728), but those two important positions by no means absorbed the whole of his time and energies. He was a farmer, sold cattle, wool and hay, and “fested” cattle for other farmers; he loaned both large and small sums of money, e.g., 1s. to Henry o’ Nan’s wife, 2s. to Jos. Massey’s wife, 10s. to “Old Janet Brown,” £3 3s. 0d. to John Halstead of Bridge End, £5 to

56. Ch. Reg.

57. Moffit—Eng. on Eve of Indus. Rev.
245.

58. Strange—Diary of Robertshaw; MSS of Dr. Laycock.

the mistress of Burwains Farm, £10 to Edmund Wilkinson of Monk Hall, £20 to Richard Nutter of the New Laund (probably for a son's education); he sold a pair of looms to John Barwick, an old soldier, for 17s. and another pair to John Spencer for 13s., and a harrow to a farmer for 1s. 6d. He provided a son of one of his old friends with his apprenticeship fees of £2 2s. 0d., clothing for six years worth £16, food for four years worth £10, a grant of £29 and two oaks from Towneley worth £17, wood from Gawthorpe worth £8 19s. 0d., and two trees from Micklehurst worth £1 1s. 6d. It is only fair to add that the apprentice joiner made an oval table, a cart and a stoup for Mr. Robertshaw out of some of the wood provided. The headmaster was also the bailiff for his nephew, Mr. Henry Blackmore of Fulledge House, and in that capacity took charge of leasing out the Fulledge farms. Jonathan Ingham rented a farm for £8 10s. a year (later £8) but he had to pay an extra 5s. if he ploughed up part of a certain meadow; the tenant had to maintain "thatch, doors, locks, gates in good repair," and keep one milch cow for the landlord for which he received £1 12s. 6d.; in return, the tenant was allowed to keep "a horse and all that comes of it." Of the other tenants, "Heap" paid 50s. a year, "Duke" paid 16s., Susan Fairbank paid 3s. and "Yates" paid 4s. for a garden. The ancient custom demanding boon work from tenants was kept up on the Fulledge estate: James Wood gave four days' haymaking or cutting corn, while "Scatcliffe," otherwise John Lee of the Ridge (probably the farm near the Co-operative Laundry) gave two days' mowing and two days' cutting corn.

John Lee of the Ridge was a troublesome tenant for he was always in arrears in his rent. In January, 1712, he owed £13 3s. 6d. and bailiffs put seals on his goods, but in spite of this threat, Lee paid only £1 in the year and actually increased his arrears to £14 4s. 0d. by July, 1713. One reason for the tenant's difficulties was an ever-increasing family.

Mr. Robertshaw was careful about his business transactions and was fond of putting into writing the smallest agreement: "May 27th. I agreed with Robert Davis in the presence of my daughter, Mary Shaw, and Ellen Cook, to make me an eight day's clock in every respect to resemble the clock to be made for Dr. Holt in lieu of my father's clock and case and an old silver watch: which clock he is to deliver on St. Michael's Day at furthest. My father's old clock he took with him on the day of the agreement and is to have the watch at the delivery of the new clock. Witness, Mary Shaw. At the same time I paid Robert Davis for one year's dressing my clock in the presence of my wife, 1s."

As has been mentioned, Mr. Robertshaw was Parish Clerk for a period of 32 years. His stipend during his last year was £1 4s. 0d., an increase on that previously paid. In the registers that he compiled during his tenure of office,⁽⁵⁹⁾ we find many illuminating details regarding life in the district at that time. He brought to his official tasks a lively mind and some strong personal opinions and prejudices: some of his Latin comments are tinged with a characteristic sardonic humour. A certain Anne Hartley, a stranger in Burnley, had her death laid at the door of "Doc. Daw.," who had "treated her without skill." Doctor Dawson himself was described as "Doctor of Medicine and Professor of Magic." William Shackleton, evidently a notorious drunkard, was entered as "a soldier of Bacchus"; William Dobson was "skilled in setting snares," while Thomas Sagar was "a watcher of the stars." The entries in the burial register reveal many tragedies that occurred in the township. Catherine Locker committed suicide by drowning, and so did Anne Emerton when she was about to become a mother; the wife of Christopher Varley hanged herself. Accidental deaths were fairly numerous; Jonathan Parker was "casually drowned,"⁽⁶⁰⁾ John Clerk of Walshaw was killed by lightning, Stephen Clerk was "killed by his own bull," George Parkinson was "slain in a colepit," Charles Collinge of Bank Top was "slain by a horse," and Henry Eatough was "slain by a fall." The death of one of Mr. Robertshaw's pupils at the Grammar School receives a fuller notice:—"John, son of John Nutter of Waterside (Quaker Bridge), who, while bathing for the sake of pleasure, sank in a rather deep hole and so perished." We should like to have had more details of the tragedies referred to in the following records:—James, John and Mary, children of John Shackleton, poisoned"; 1710 buried—"James Nutter, who returned from flight, suffering from a complication of diseases."

THE MIDDLE CLASS.

The middle class was made up of substantial farmers, traders and employers of labour. Among them we find the Folds of Danes House, the Jacksons of Haworth Fold, the Lonsdales of Porterangate, the Pillings of Oakeneaves, the Pollards of Haworth Fold, the Tattersalls of the Ridge, the Woods of Timber Hill, and the Whiteheads of the Slack.⁽⁶¹⁾

We may learn something of the life that was lived by a prosperous Burnley farmer in the middle of the 18th

59. Ch. Reg.

60. "Casually" has here its original meaning of "accidentally."

61. Ch. Reg. and Clith. Court Records.

century from the account books of William Sagar, who lived at Catlow.⁽⁶²⁾ It is clear that in the period 1740-1750 Sagar was living with his father, but that from 1750 to 1770 he was married and in charge of Catlow Hall and Farm. In the earlier period we see him visiting markets at Burnley, Colne, Haworth, Skipton and Heptonstall, buying and selling a few lambs, drinking a great deal of ale in the local inns, ploughing for farmers and shooting rabbits, hares and game whenever he could. His income for the year Aug., 1740-July, 1741, was £11 2s. 5d., out of which he spent £10 7s. 1½d. including over £4 in "drink." Only on one occasion did he buy gin, and then only a pennyworth. The young farmer was very anxious to take his place among the fashionable set of the time and he bought three silver buckles for 7s. 10d., a waistcoat 5s. 6d., nine yards of "fine plain," 1½ dozen buttons, coat trimming 5s. 5d., silk 3s. 8d., scarlet lining for a coat 3s. 0d., gloves 1s. 2d., a pair of stockings 3s. 8d., a hat from New Church 6s. 0d., and a new wig which cost him £1 1s. 0d. His only contribution to the family larder was four lbs. of potatoes for 9d. During the next twelve months Sagar made by trade and work £9 17s. 8½d. and spent £8 19s. 3d., of which over £4 was again spent on liquid refreshment. Gin was rarely bought in this year, but the accounts show the purchase of a pint of rum for 1s. 3d., and a quantity of wine for 2s. 0d. He also bought ginger bread, nuts, spice, ½ lb. of treacle, a ryeloaf and 2d. worth of snuff. He continued to add to his wardrobe by buying some two dozen buttons for 1s. 6d., a shirt 6s. 0d., three pair of shoes for 10s. 6d., and 1 lb. of wool which was made into yarn for 7½d. He may have woven the yarn into cloth on the family handloom, though as he bought on another occasion half a yard of shalloon (a very common cloth) he does not seem to have been very anxious to spend any of his time at the loom. A "hancarshi" for 1s. 1d. showed unwonted extravagance. The third year of Sagar's accounts showed a net saving of £2 12s. 11d. out of an income of £13 0s. 7d.; he spent only £3 12s. 0d. on "drink" which included a pint of brandy for 1s. 0d. and more rum. He also bought "some fish," "sheep feet," nutmegs, candy and "cakes." He paid constant attention to his appearance and in this year he bought new breeches 2s. 6d., stockings 3s. 6d., shoes, shirt and a stock (early type of a man's collar), a "frock" (farmer's overall) a cap, velvet, shagreen, fustian, tammy, grogram, another 1½ dozen buttons, and sent his waistcoat to be dyed scarlet. In this year he began to give small gratuities to the family servants, including 1d. to "a fidler." His shooting

activities began to take up more of his time if we may so judge from the extra quantities of "powder and shot" which he bought at "Cougels at Burnley."

The later period covered by the accounts shows a great change, for by 1750 William Sagar had married and had taken charge of Catlow Hall farm so that his records now include all the household expenses. His income in 1751 was £110 14s. 0d. and his expenditure £93 1s. 2½d., so, as he proudly puts it, there was "in cash in hand by me £17 12s. 9¾d." More interesting still is the fact that there is practically no money spent on "drink," though from the frequent large purchases of hops and malt it is highly probable that the "drink" was now brewed and consumed at home. He employed labourers on the farm; a man named Taylor earned 8d. a day, John Newel, who was hired from the Craven district, was paid £5 10s. 0d. a year, and James Whitehead 12s. 6d. a month, while an apprentice named Paul, was probably paid nothing at all. His extra responsibilities evidently made him more careful of his money, and though we read of luxuries bought for the family and a few for himself, we find little spent on clothing and personal adornment. Tea cost 1s. 1½d. an oz., a "tay cup" was bought for 1s., so that tea drinking was an expensive indulgence. He bought for the family, sugar at 4d. a lb., cheese at 2s. 2d. a lb., spice, raisins, rice, starch, isingglass, nutmegs, a "shamey skin," a blanket for 7s., and probably for his own enjoyment a lb. of "tobacky" for 9d., a "quartran of everlastin" (long strips of toffee or licquorice), candy, a "packit Montibank" and a penknife. The money he spent on his appearance was strictly rationed: frieze for 1s. 8d., lining for an old pair of breeches, 2s. 6d., wig mending 1s., only 15 waistcoat buttons, drill breeches and trimming, a shirt and two check waistcoats were all that he could or would afford during the year 1750-1.

Bread was made in the house though occasionally a loaf was bought; meat was obtained from the farm but the local butcher also provided beef (28 lbs at Christmas), mutton and veal. Coal cost 3d. a load (about 1½ cwts.) and provision for Christmas was made by building up a store of 24 loads; the chimney or "lover," as it was called, was swept at a cost of 1s. Repairs to the farm buildings were carried out and farm implements such as a bulhod, a bush for a cart wheel, a riddle, hemp halters, bridles, had to be bought; garden seeds, houghel pots, draf (pig food), tar for animal diseases, "pint of claredieme" (chlorodyne) show the variety of things that had to be bought for a well-conducted farm. Pewter and copper dishes were purchased and others were repaired, and a pan was mended by Richard Boys (of

Burnley) for 2d.; a smoothing iron was repaired for 6d. The only literature bought was a 6d. almanack. Parish rates which included the poor rates, amounted to about 30s., tithes took a further 24s., Easter dues paid to Marsden Church were 1s. 8d.; the national land tax and window tax amounted to about 25s. The bill of the doctor, John Ecroyd, for "fisick and tendance" amounted to 5s., while 4d. was paid for a tooth-pulling. The farmer's income was obtained from the sale of cattle, pigs, hides, flour, and seedcorn, and from selling and carrying timber to a coalpit; in addition, various fields and plots of land such as the Scars (Briercliffe) that were too far from Catlow to be worked profitably by the Sagar family were leased out to tenants at a profit.

THE POOR.

Economic conditions in Burnley tended to keep the standard of life for a large section of the community at a bare subsistence level. As previously mentioned, farming, textile manufactures and rural trades were the only occupations of the people, and the supply of labour was perhaps more than adequate. As far as agriculture was concerned, the demand for skilled labour was limited after the waste lands had been enclosed and all land put under cultivation. Casual labour might be required at busy seasons, but this could easily be supplied from the reservoir of skilled and semi-skilled craftsmen who were only too willing to offer their services to farmers in order to add to their meagre incomes. Weavers suffered because they were unable to obtain sufficient yarn and earned barely enough to support a family even when they were fully employed; when sickness, old age, accident or long unemployment fell to their lot, they must have suffered untold privations. Under such conditions, poverty was necessarily widespread, and we can imagine the background of personal tragedy behind such references as the following: "John Pollard, distracted, of no certain residence," "Ann Booth, pauper, aged above 102." Within the 21 years 1704-1725, there were 31 paupers buried at St. Peter's, and that figure represents only those who were getting regular poor relief at the time of death; and does not take into account the very many who accepted occasional relief. The paupers were drawn from both old and new Burnley families. Most of them were widows, such as "Widow Barcroft," "Widow Leigh," "Widow Taylor," "Widow Smith," who had apparently fallen on bad times when their husbands died. Three families (Parkinson, Holden and Taylor) have more than one representative among the paupers.

The maintenance of the poor was a source of great difficulty and caused some bitter feelings. In 1662, for example, the inhabitants of Burnley sent a petition to the Justices of the Peace⁽⁶³⁾ complaining that they were "overcharged with poor, consisting of 300 poor and impotent" and stating that they could not "make such provision as the law enjoins" and suggesting that as the "Hamlets of Cliviger, Hurstwood, Worsthorne, Extwistle and Briercliffe have few poor" an order should be made "to tax or rate the said Hamlets" equally with Burnley. Two "next" Justices, i.e., two J.P.s living nearest Burnley were therefore instructed to hear the Burnley petitioners with the result that the hamlets had to appear at the next sessions. If the number of "300" is correct, then there was roughly one-quarter of the people seeking relief in 1662. Later on in 1685-6, there were serious disturbances in Burnley; riots broke out and local administration for a time came to a standstill.⁽⁶⁴⁾ The trouble seems to have had political and religious causes but not the least important episode in the whole affair was the refusal of many landowners to pay "their assessments" or rates, much of which was expended on poor relief. The J.P.s therefore instructed the overseers "to demand the same again in the name of the Justices of the Peace and, if any refused, to levy it by way of distress and sale of goods and chattels." Among the justices signing the order was Thomas Parker.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Poor relief was based on the Poor Law Acts of 1601, 1662 and 1723. Under the Act of 1601, parishes were required to elect overseers of the poor with the power to levy poor rates: their function was to relieve the old and infirm and provide work for the able-bodied unemployed. The Act of 1662 limited the responsibility of the overseers to the maintenance of those poor people who were legally settled in the parish, and a newcomer might be removed within 40 days back to his native parish, unless he could give security that he would not become chargeable to his new parish. By later Acts, a person might acquire legal settlement in a new parish by paying taxes for a year, filling a parochial office for a year, or being hired for a year. Such qualifications were of little use to the very poor, so that later it became customary for overseers to give a written certificate to a man who wished to live and work in another parish acknowledging liability for his maintenance should he become destitute. Such arrangements were often the cause of lengthy legal disputes which cost money that might have been spent

63. County R.O. QSP. 234-2.

64. See p. 43.

65. County R.O. QSP. 597-18.

more profitably on poor relief. J.P.s were also permitted to grant relief even when the overseers had refused it, a privilege that caused much controversy with the parish officials.

A case in point occurred in Burnley in 1685. The Burnley overseers refused to maintain a man named Richard Hough who thereupon petitioned the Justices at their Court at Clitheroe. Hough's plea was that he was "a poor sick man, aged 91" and that up to 10 or 11 years before "he was settled in Burnley as a housekeeper (householder) for nearly 40 years" and since leaving Burnley "he had been in Ireland and lived a wandering unsettled life." The overseers maintained that Hough was not a Burnley man and that the 10 or 11 years' absence from the town disqualified him from parish relief; the J.P.s however ordered the Burnley overseers "to keep him."⁶⁶

The Act of 1723 permitted parishes to build workhouses and stipulated that any person refusing to go into the workhouse might be denied outdoor relief.

The earliest poor relief account for this district is found in a diary kept by Henry Parker of Carr (Nelson). His record deals with the year 1688 when he was the overseer at Barrowford, and the payments which he made in his area may be regarded as similar to those made in Burnley. Mr. Parker received in all £3 9s. 7d. as Church and Poor Lay, of which sum Mr. Towneley of Carr contributed £1 2s. 0d.; other monies received from 38 householders varied from 4s. 6d. to 2d. The payments to about 30 poor people were very small. The largest grant was 2s. 6d., but the usual amount was 1s. given over some months in pennies, threepences and sixpences. The recipients included "Old Kit of Admergill," "Nan with two childer," "Nell o' Rells," "Old Greenwood wife," "Long Law" and "A woman in Journey House End."

We have no details about poor relief in Burnley until 1710 when Mr. Robertshaw made a note in the register to the effect that a few years previously Lawrence Ormerod had in his possession the "poor stock" which amounted to £233 9s. 2½d. This large sum must include both the unspent balance from the poor rates and the money given or bequeathed for the use of the poor, and the interest on it. What happened in the seventeen years following Mr. Robertshaw's comment we do not know, but there seems to have been some laxity in the administration of the funds. In 1727,

66. County R.O. Quarter Sess. at Clitheroe, May 14th, 1685.

a special vestry meeting⁽⁶⁷⁾ was summoned to consider the position, but only a few attended on account of "either badness of the weather or some other latent reason." Another meeting was therefore called for Dec. 26th, and the four churchwardens, "all who have estates" and "all others concerned" were asked to attend. At this meeting it was resolved to make a thorough enquiry into the condition of the poor stock "by laying thereof before counsel learned in law": if necessary church rates should be levied to pay the legal expenses incurred in "calling the former managers of the poor stock, their heirs, executors and administrators to an account—touching their management of the poor stock." These resolutions were signed by Henry Blackmore of Fulledge, Robert Whittaker of Healey, Robert Smith of Small Hazels (cooper), John Sagar of Coal Clough, John Halstead and six others.

We do not know the outcome of the enquiry nor whether there were any prosecutions, but possibly the whole situation had arisen from a desire on the part of the overseers to take advantage of the Act of 1723 whereby a workhouse might be erected, for which a ready sum of money was needed. In June, 1730, the vestry took the final decision to erect a workhouse to serve all the townships within the parish of St. Peter's. "We whose names are hereunder written do unanimously agree at a Vestry Meeting, this 30th day of June, A. D. 1730: To take a convenient house for setting and placing the Poor to work in, and that the several townships of Burnley with Habergham Eaves, Briercliffe with Extwistle, Worsthorne with Hurstwood, for that purpose bring in their assessments, collections and disbursements for seven years last past (except what was expended in trials of settlements) and that a medium be taken, and that each of the said townships shall from time to time hereafter pay and bear their share and proportion as aforesaid towards the rent of such house, providing materials, setting to work and maintaining all such poor as shall be brought into such workhouse out of and belonging unto the said townships. Signed—Chas. Halstead, John Haydock, Gilbert Holden, John Halstead, Henry Halstead."

The workhouse was erected and opened in 1731 and was situated somewhere near Brennand Street.⁽⁶⁸⁾ It was built to accommodate all who sought relief, but in times of very great distress the parish officials still found it necessary to grant outdoor relief. In 1740, a year of famine and corn-riots, £20 was taken out of the poor stock to buy oatmeal "at the

67. Ch. Reg.

68. Rate Book for 1800.

best hand " and sell at cost price to any poor inhabitant. Special precautions were taken to see that the oatmeal did not get into the hands of retailers, and a wage not exceeding a shilling a week was paid to a man to sell the meal at the Church. His accounts were to be made up and presented to the overseers every Saturday. Ten years later, outdoor relief was once more discontinued, and "all persons who want relief of what kind soever shall be obliged to come to the workhouse there provided," and there "they shall be badged with B.P. (Burnley Pauper) in capitals on the shoulder of their uppermost wearing garment and the relief of all such persons as do not constantly wear the same shall forthwith be withdrawn." Such a regulation was not peculiar to Burnley, for it was permitted by law and had been adopted by many parishes in the early part of the 18th century. The wonder is that Burnley did not adopt the idea before 1750. Probably the workhouse had to be extended to take in more paupers because, in 1750, the poor rate was eight times larger than in 1749. About 1760 the workhouse proved quite inadequate to deal with all the Burnley paupers and outdoor relief was once more widely adopted. Payments were made at the workhouse to those needing help on the first Saturday in every month.

More dishonesty in the administration of the poor stock appeared in 1764 when the overseer, instead of paying in the £80 he had received from the poor rates, gave an I.O.U. to the newly-appointed overseer. When the I.O.U. was not redeemed court proceedings were begun; later, the defaulter gave an acceptable bond to the churchwarden whereupon the legal action was abandoned.

In 1769, the overseers were instructed by the Vestry to secure legal advice about bringing back from Middlewich to Burnley a man named Henry Hounsworth. The case arose from the fact that Hounsworth, a native of Burnley, had become destitute and the cost of maintaining him at Middlewich was more than the town could be expected to pay.

PARISH APPRENTICES.

After 1696, churchwardens and overseers with the consent of the Justices of the Peace could compel tradesmen and artisans to accept as apprentices any orphans or children of paupers. Such a system was obviously open to grave abuses. When a "poor child" was bound apprentice until the age of 24 years if a male and 21 if a female, he (or she) had to serve his master faithfully, keep his secrets and obey his commands; play no cards, dice or other game; contract no

marriage; nor consume, waste and lend the goods of the master. In return for 10s. 6d. paid by the overseers, the master agreed to teach his trade to his apprentice, provide clothing, meat, drink, washing and lodging, and at the end of the apprenticeship give two suits of clothes,—“good and new,” one for Holy Days and the other for working days.

The Burnley overseers with the consent of two J.P.s, Piers Starkie and John Haydock of Heasandford, bound “a poor child,” a girl named Anne Hargreaves, to Thomas Riding, a shoemaker.⁽⁶⁹⁾ For an unknown reason, Riding paid £4 to a Joseph Canthree of Habersham Eaves, also a shoemaker, to take over his responsibilities and “maintain, bring up and educate the said apprentice in some honest and godly calling.” The so-called apprenticeship of girls to what was regarded as a man’s work was a common feature of parish apprenticeship in the 18th century. The whole system became an open scandal during the Industrial Revolution of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when batches of “poor children” were sent from the towns and villages of the south of England to work in the cotton and woollen factories of the north.

The release of an apprentice by one master to serve another is again illustrated by an indenture of 1767.⁽⁷⁰⁾ Here, Robert Taylor, a “poor child” of Goldshaw Booth, had been bound by parish officials to serve Bartholomew Hopwood, of Marsden, weaver. Hopwood, however, assigned the apprentice to Daniel Redman, of Briercliffe, weaver, who agreed to teach and instruct the boy “in the Art, Trade or Mystery of a weaver and find and provide for the said apprentice all manner of apparell and wholesome and sufficient meat and drink, washing, lodging and entertainment.”

CHURCHWARDENS’ ACCOUNTS.

The survey of social life in Burnley during the period 1650-1750 may be completed by a brief review of the accounts of the churchwardens. As we have seen, the government of the parish of Burnley with its townships of Burnley, Habersham Eaves, Cliviger, Worsthorne with Hurstwood, and Briercliffe with Extwistle was in the hands of the “Vestry,” the name given to the annual meeting of all inhabitants at St. Peter’s, where the churchwardens and the overseers of the poor were elected. The wardens were responsible under the Justices of the Peace for the proper administration of the affairs of the parish, and were empowered to levy a parish rate (“church

69. Waddington Papers.

70. Copy in poss. of writer.

cess" or "church lay," as it was often called). This rate, together with the burial fees and the charges made for the use of certain parish property, formed the parish revenue and was expended in providing a few amenities and numerous unimportant as well as indispensable articles for the use of the parishioners. The details contained in the Churchwardens' Accounts 1728-1781 enable us to form a more complete picture of life in Burnley during the greater part of the 18th century. The accounts may be best considered in categories based on the nature of the expenditure.

REPAIR OF CHURCH, CHURCHYARD, FURNITURE, ETC. References to the repair of church and churchyard are naturally fairly numerous. Flagstones, both inside and outside the Church needed constant attention, walls had to be pointed and some plastered, windows had to be glazed, and the roof repaired. Generally, pointing was done with moss that was collected from the moors and pushed in a dry state between the stones. An old widow, Janet Broxup, was paid 9d. a sack for moss, but this payment included 3d. for carriage.

Large alterations and improvements were made at the Church in 1730-32. Moss for 4s. 6d., sand, lime, and hair (obtained from Daniel Brigg, the tanner) showed the usual activity in repair work, but the purchase and erection of new church-gates for £2 12s. 6d., steps at the gates for £1 6s. 0d., a "horse-stone" (mounting block) for £1 1s. 0d., and three stone stoops (posts) for 11s. 6d., indicate that more extensive projects were in hand. In addition, 112½ yards of flags were bought and laid, and 48 square yards of old flags were re-laid, all for a cost of £11 9s. 2d., together with 17s. 4d. for "a labourer's assistance." It will be remembered that in 1736 a new bridge was built and the roadway repaired in front of the Church, so that all the improvements may have been preparatory to the greater undertaking.

Internal repairs were made in 1742. The roof needed attention and two roof-trees were purchased for 12s. 6d., 80 bricks for 1s. 4d. and 150 "lats" for 8s. 10d. The steeple was next to undergo repairs and James Parker, the sexton, and John Parker, his father and late sexton, were paid 4s. 6d. for clearing and mossing the steeple. An additional payment to the Parkers for "winding-up" Richard Etough, the plasterer, calls up a vivid picture of the workman dangling precariously in a "cradle" from the top of the steeple, and thrilled, open-mouthed spectators watching from the street below. The accounts also inform us that the workmen fortified themselves during their labours with 3s. worth of ale at the town's expense,

and celebrated the completion of their task with a further 2s. worth: this ale was supplied by a tavern kept by Grace Ingham.

The sexton was paid extra for tidying up the churchyard, though the clearance of dead leaves and grass was by no means a weekly or even annual event. The trees were occasionally "dressed" (pruned), docks were scythed down and, at rare intervals, there was an attempt to drain the yard. In 1745, an operation that cost only 1s. 6d. consisted in "dressing and rubbing out the churchyard and letting the water off."

The Church acquired a new desk in 1731, made by John Aspden at a cost of 15s. 6d.; a gallery in the west end in 1737 by private subscription; and a "three decker" pulpit in 1740 at the cost of the parish. The pulpit was made of "Danstiek" oak which was brought from Manchester; the wood alone cost £3 7s. 7d., and its carriage to Burnley an extra 4s. No Burnley artisans were apparently equal to the task of making and erecting the pulpit and so "Bradley and his men" were brought from Manchester and lodged at the Sparrow Hawk at a cost of £2 11s. 10d. Some locally grown wood was provided for 4s. 8d. by Richard Hitchon, the landlord of the Sparrow Hawk; a stone pillar in the Church had to be cut, a "throw" or wood-turning machine borrowed from Samuel Stott, while "Elknah" was paid 2s. for the use of his house and fire. Finally the pulpit received a coat of varnish costing 5s., for our 18th century forefathers thought little of plain polished woodwork. Three lbs. of "glew" were bought in 1733 for sizing the Church.

For the altar, a new communion cloth and kneeling cushion complete with flocks were acquired in 1733 for £2 4s. 4d., but the cloth was discarded in 1745 in favour of a linen one. A cherub was affixed to the altar in 1777, and three years later, the communion cloth was dyed.

A bell was installed in 1749, and Richard Sagar spent the sum of 5d. of the parish money in "treating when making a bargain for its hanging." The carriage, unloading and hanging of the bell cost £8 14s. 4d., with a further 7s. for the services of Thomas Parker, the blacksmith.

The King's Arms were placed in the Church in 1756 and "curious" or interested by-standers who lent a willing hand by holding the ladder, etc., received a tip of 1s. Then the weather cock began to give false reports about the direction of the wind, and so in 1758, 6d. was expended to make it

work properly, and Robert Whittaker, another blacksmith, was paid 2s. 7d. for the iron-work. The iron-bound military chest was remade in 1762, about six months before the end of the war that had already been going on for six years. In the chest were kept the pikes and muskets that Burnley men would have used to defend their country against invasion, but by the time the Burnley store of arms was properly housed, the enemy had already sued for peace. The fixing of a sundial (not the one to be seen at the present time) was an event of some importance, but it is difficult to see why money should have been spent on a parish sundial when a church clock was already an ancient institution; perhaps it was a "War Memorial" to mark the very successful end to the Seven Years' War. At any rate, in 1764, the necessary wood was bought for 5s. 8d., scaffolding put up for 5s. 10d., and a carpenter and a blacksmith made and erected the dial for 18s. Then John Spencer "corrected" it for 6s. 2d., and after it had been painted for £1 17s. 6d., and adorned with 6s. 2d. worth of gold leaf, the sundial was doubtless a magnificent and much-prized ornament. Unfortunately, there seems to have been some oversight or scamped workmanship, for in the following year, the churchwardens had to spend another shilling on "puttying the dial."

Winding up or "tenting" the clock as it was sometimes called, was the duty of the sexton, for which he received 5s. a year. In 1730 there was a payment for "upholding the clock," and in the following year the clock was mended for 16s. 6d. On the latter occasion, something must have gone wrong with the fingers, and since the parish did not possess a suitable ladder, one was borrowed from Royle and had to be carried back at a cost of 1s. The churchwardens resolved to remedy this sad deficiency and therefore bought, "felled and fetched" two fir trees which were made into two ladders.

Almanacks at 4d. or 6d. each were bought each year in order that all might know the exact date of the various church festivals. Royal proclamations and special forms of prayer were purchased and used in the Church when drought or cattle diseases threatened the well-being of the country; and warrants for the arrest of those breaking the regulations made to cope with the emergency were a charge upon the parish. "A New Common Prayer Book" with carriage cost £1 11s. 6d.; a book called "The Five Offices" cost 2s. 6d.; "a little book" was bound for 6d. An hour glass or sand measure which was put on the pulpit to enable the preacher to measure the length of his discourse often met with an accident, possibly in the heat of his eloquence, and had to be renewed. Occasionally an umbrella was bought for the use of the parson

when conducting a burial service in bad weather; one umbrella bought in York and delivered in Burnley in 1753 cost only 12s. 6d., but apparently did not give entire satisfaction, for eight years later, the churchwardens spent £2 10s. 0d. on another and possibly larger umbrella. The very frequent purchase of waistcoats may also indicate the same need of protecting the parson or some other official against the inclemency of the elements.

BELL RINGING. Bell ringing was far more common in the 17th and 18th centuries than at present. From very early mediaeval times, the curfew bell had rung at St. Peter's every day at sunset; a bell had summoned inhabitants to daily prayer or worship, and probably special peals had been rung on Holy Days; the "death bell" had mournfully tolled the passing of some person of importance. Not only were all these old customs still observed in Burnley in the 18th century, but, as new bells were acquired, the occasions on which the ringers might show their skill were multiplied. They rang out on May 29th ("K.C. Restoration Day" as the Accounts record it), a holiday to commemorate the return of the Stuart King Charles II in 1660 after the Cromwellian regime. As if to counterbalance their enthusiasm for the Stuart cause, the ringers showed their zeal for the Hanoverian succession by ringing on every possible occasion—royal proclamations, coronations and anniversaries, birthdays, etc. They even rang for "The heirs of the Prince of Wales coming to England" from Hanover in 1729. The Burnley bells that pealed at the restoration of the Stuarts also rang out for the capture of Carlisle (where Francis Towneley was captured), and for the subsequent annihilation at Culloden of the army that fought in 1745-46 for Bonnie Prince Charlie, the last of the Stuart claimants. Peals were rung to celebrate great victories and days of national rejoicing:—"1739. Spent when war was declared" against Spain, £1 5s. 0d; "Taking of Porto Bello ringing—2s."; "1748. Paid Grace Ingham for drink for ringers when peace was proclaimed, 3s. 6d."; "1759. Expenses at the taking of Cape Breton, 4s."; "1761. Ale to ringers on Rejoicing Day, 5s. 4d."; "Ringers (on Guy Fawkes' Day), 1s."

Bell ringers earned 11s. a year for ringing on Sundays and on Christmas Days, with the stipulation that Sunday's last peal must be 15 minutes long. John Parker, the sexton, tolled the death bell for 6d. an hour, and for 5s. a year rang the curfew every evening. Ringers were paid extra both in money and liquid refreshment for their services on special occasions. When a new bell was hung in 1749, three other ringers were brought in to help the regular team; they were

paid 3s. One entry in the Accounts—"William Kenyon curios ringing 2s.," is interesting, but its meaning is obscure.⁽⁷¹⁾ There are many references to the care of the bells, e.g., oiling, "col-lering the bells," new ropes.

CUSTOMS. Our present custom of celebrating Guy Fawkes' Day by bonfires originated in 1605. In the 18th century, Burnley observed the day by having a parish bonfire; children doubtless collected wood, but the parish officials provided coal out of parish funds. "1728. Three loads for bonfire, 10½d. "1730. coals for bonfire, 1s.," "1735, Nov. 5th. 6d." are typical entries. The old ceremony of rushbearing was carried out every year, and "Dressing (cleaning) the church at rushburying" occurs regularly each year in the accounts. It had once been the custom for girls and youths to carry the rushes into the Church, but by 1778 the old ceremony was gradually dying out, for in that year the sexton was paid for "carrying a cartload of rushes into church."

Among the very few paid officials of the parish was the dog-whipper. In the late 17th century, an inn-keeper was appointed to that office, but in the 18th century the sexton added it to his multifarious duties and was paid an extra 4s. and later 6s. a year. The dog-whipper was responsible for keeping dogs out of the church and churchyard during divine service; for this purpose he may have been provided with dog-tongs with which to drag the dogs outside the sacred precincts.

The parish officials looked with disfavour on foxes and hedgehogs; foxes, of course, killed poultry and young animals, and hedgehogs, it was believed, sucked the milk of cows in the field. The churchwardens therefore paid 1s. for a foxhead and 2d. for a hedgehog.

CELEBRATIONS, DINNERS, ETC. From the pockets of the parishioners came the cost of frequent celebrations at the principal inns—the Sparrow Hawk, the Thorn, the White Horse and the Bull. Every national and local event of importance was made the occasion of rejoicing, and though the drink consumed was usually regarded as a treat for the bell-ringers there seems little doubt that churchwardens and other parish officials often joined in the revelries. When George III became king in 1760, £1 11s. 8d. was spent at the Bull.

71. Most probably it refers to a special display of virtuosity in the art of bell-ringing.

19s. 4d. at the White Horse, and a further 4s. for "more ale." At the coronation in 1761, more celebrations cost the parish £2 3s. 0d.

THE SEXTON. The main duty of the sexton was to dig graves and for many years he had little to do with other church functions. His appointment, however, was considered to be a matter of importance, and some bitterness was roused in the parish in 1740 by a dispute "whether John Parker shall be turned out from being Sexton at Burnley, and, if turned out, who is to be Sexton in his stead." A committee was formed to consider the question, and though we do not know what the committee decided, the Vestry resolved two years later that "John Parker shall be herewith turned out and discharged—and that James Parker, his son, shall succeed in his place." The parish naturally expected the sexton to maintain some dignity in his office, and therefore the churchwardens provided him every two years with "a New Coat, and that Coat to hang in the Vestry in the Church, and not be worne by the Sexton during the two years but in the Church, on the Sundays or Hollydays." Fortunately for the sexton, that resolution was later altered to allow him a new coat every year. He was also given at various times a waistcoat and a pair of shoes, though there is no record of any resolution made by the Vestry authorising such a grant. The cloth for the coat usually cost about 30s. and the making 3s. 6d.; on one occasion, the tailor was a "Doctor Allen."

The sexton's salary was probably mainly derived from burial fees, but he added to it by doing "odd jobs" at the Church for which he was paid, e.g., 1745, 5s. for ringing the curfew, 5s. for winding the clock, 6s. for dog-whipping, 4s. for cleaning the church, 2s. for cleaning the churchyard, 2s. for sweeping the leads. The payment for all special services was worked out strictly on a piece-rate basis; thus, the cost of cleaning the candlestick might be 1s., 2s., or even 3s., the variation being due to the varying conditions of the candlesticks. 1s. was always paid for sweeping the rushes out of the Church after the rushbearing, and 1s. was paid for cleaning the Church "after the Mere-clough cart" which had brought the rushes. During the erection of the pulpit in 1740, "Barnes was paid 5s. for dressing (cleaning and sweeping) the Church at several times after the joyners and masons," while in 1736, 10s. 6d. was spent in cleaning the church after the slaters. The practice of making a separate payment for each item of work performed by the sexton was abandoned by 1779, for in that year we find that the salary of the sexton was recorded as £1 17s. 6d.

THE PARISH CLERK. The main responsibility of the parish clerk was to be present at divine service, and from his seat in the lowest "deck" of the pulpit say or sing the necessary responses. For this duty the clerk was at one time paid only 10s. a year, but this sum was increased to 16s. with an extra 9d. payable to him by the sexton for each burial. The parish clerk also kept the church registers and the churchwardens' accounts and for this service he was paid 4s. a year; one clerk did not consider it derogatory to his office to wash the surplices for 8s. In 1778, the clerk's salary for all his services seems to have been fixed at £3 5s. 6d.

COMMUNION BREAD AND WINE. Wine for the Communion was a very heavy item in parish expenditure. The cost ranged from £1 17s. 6d. for 1728 to £2 19s. 10d. for 1769. Eighteen bottles were used each year during the earlier part of the century, but this quantity had increased to an annual consumption of $7\frac{1}{2}$ gallons for the years between 1763 and 1776. Wheat bread for the Communion cost 3d. at each of the three festivals of Whitsuntide, Michaelmas and Lent, and 10d. at Eastertide.

BURIALS. When a family suffered a bereavement, there was always a lavish display to honour the dead and comfort the mourners. "Hatchments were hung on the front of the house, and cards of invitation, adorned with all the trappings of grief, skulls, skeletons, cross-bones, coffins and gravestones, were issued by the undertakers. Women sat up with the dead, and emblems of mourning were freely distributed to relatives and friends. Rings, engraved with a poesie, "*Mors Janua Vitae*," were given to the nearest friends. Black silk hatbands and black gloves were given to the pall-bearers. When the service was over the party returned to the house, where they were once again regaled with cake and dried toast, chocolate and wine, so that the rector observed, 'It was as decent, neat, handsome Funeral as ever I saw.' "(72)

Up to 1728, it appears to have been the custom in Burnley for relatives to carry the body of the deceased from his home to St. Peter's, but in that year, the parish began to provide a bier at a cost of 6d. The cloth to cover the bier was at first borrowed from Padiham, but eventually Burnley secured its own public pall for £1 9s. 2d. Then a project to buy a hearse and build a hearse-house was put forward, because the town wished to follow the fashion in more important places. Six yards of fine plain cloth (19s.) and thirteen yards of "ribbin silk edging" (6s. 5d.) were pur-

chased for a new pall cloth and £24 6s. 0d. was raised by a special rate for the hearse-house. This was in 1735, and the hearse itself appears to have been acquired soon afterwards. Twenty years later, enquiries were set on foot to discover the whereabouts of the money subscribed to pay for the house, which had finally been erected in 1753 with celebrations that cost the parish 10s. The mason's bill for the building of the house amounted to £10 17s. 0d., but this was not paid until 1759. The Burnley hearse was loaned out to various neighbouring townships; among the places to which it was sent were the following:—Bacup (cost of hire, 3s.), Downham (5s. 6d.), Simonstone (2s. 6d.) Harwood (3s. 6d.), Colne (3s.), and Bolton (10s.).

VARIOUS EXPENSES. Repairs to the Grammar School were carried out at the town's expense, but these will be dealt with in a later chapter. Money was spent on "entertaining" and at times "giving a treat" to the headmaster of the Grammar School and to several "preachers"; sometimes the dinner cost only 1s. 6d. but on one occasion, "the dining of Mr. Weatherhead" cost the parish 7s. There were numerous other small items of expense, e.g., lanthorns for the Church, candles, "blackening the hearse," strap for the harness, annual visits of wardens and sidesmen to Blackburn to take their oaths of office before the Justices, relief for "passengers who have lost their effects." A curious sideline on the town's police system is shown by the spending of 6d. on "colouring the constable's staff."

SUMMARY.

This chapter has shown a continuation of the conditions that had existed since Tudor times. The township was little more than two villages, scattered hamlets of artisans' dwellings, and large and small farms where most people passed a slow, pleasant and pastoral life. There were amusements, taverns and inns to relieve the monotony while national disturbances kept alive the passions of opposing political and religious societies. For the poor, however, life was not so easy for famine, disease and low wages threatened their very existence. The moral tone of England as a whole was not high and Burnley was no exception. But though the town does not appear to have undergone very drastic changes, we shall see in the next chapter that during these same hundred years the basis was laid of the great industrial system of the present day.

CHAPTER III.

**Trade, Industry, Agriculture,
1650-1750.**

A list of the tradesmen of Burnley during the period 1650-1700 is given in Appendix I and from it may be noted the classes of goods that were made, bought and sold in the town at that time. In what may be regarded as the distributive trades, there were a "shopkeeper" and numerous butchers. The clothing trade was represented by tailors, hatters and mercers; the leather trade had its shoemakers, saddlers, skimmers and tanners. The building trade was in a flourishing condition if we may so judge from the large number of local masons, slaters, plasterers, carpenters, joiners and glaziers; with them may be classified the coopers and the woodturners. There were many smiths, wheelwrights, cutlers and even gunsmiths. In addition, coalminers, musicians, a gardener, pedlars and a ballad-seller were to be found.

THE DISTRIBUTIVE TRADES.

Shops, as we know them, are a late product of our civilisation. Up to 1750, particularly in villages and small towns, each household tried to provide for its own needs, so that it was largely independent of retailers. Bread was made at home from meal which had been ground at the corn-mill from home-grown oats; ale was brewed in the vat; salt pork and bacon from home-fed pigs provided meat; vegetables, peas and beans were grown in the gardens and fields; light was obtained from home-made rushlights. The domestic supply of fresh-meat, in quantities suitable for a household, seems to have presented an insoluble problem and hence the largest retail distributors in Burnley were the butchers. Other necessary commodities, such as clothes, shoes, furniture, buckets, farm implements, were ordered from the makers, so that the so-called "shops" of the period were really work-shops where the tailor, the joiner, the cooper, the shoemaker, the smith and other tradesmen displayed the goods that were already ordered and sold. Such commodities as candles, soap, oil, salt, sugar, spice, silk and pottery might be obtained at a general stores, but usually the people looked to the booths at the market and fair, and to the packs of chapmen and pedlars to provide them with an opportunity to buy uncommon cloths, trinkets, ornaments, toys, and many other articles of "foreign" origin. The apothecary supplied all drugs, herbs, cosmetics and snuff.

In 1685, William Yates was classified as "mercier"⁽¹⁾ and in 1686 as "shopkeeper"⁽²⁾ so that he was probably the owner of the village "drapery and general stores." There was also a John Elliot, who was described in 1699 as "grocer,"⁽³⁾ but the term at that date often meant one who bought and sold "by the gross"; probably he dealt in spices and foreign products such as dried fruits and sugar and sold them to retailers, chapmen and pedlars.

There are no records to tell us the size and character of the weekly market at this time. We know that it had been extended in 1617 and that it was held near the market cross but unfortunately no other information is available. Nor are there any details about the annual fair held on June 28th, 29th, and 30th. From a lawsuit of 1639,⁽⁴⁾ it is known that there were two other fairs held on March 28th and Sept. 27th, which, according to Padiham's complaint, were prolonged during the following days. The Corporation of Clitheroe also protested against Burnley's fairs and weekly corn-market as being illegal and damaging to their own trade, but the protest was not carried to any effective issue.⁽⁵⁾

The names of several pedlars are known and include Robert Poole, who sold ballads to that section of the community that loved music and romance. The chapmen were in a higher grade than the ordinary pedlars, for they bought goods from wholesalers or large manufacturers in a distant town or fair and then retailed them either at their own booths and warehouses or sold them from house to house. John Birtwistle of Sagar Fold was a Burnley chapman in 1753; he married a daughter of William Sagar of Catlow Hall and must therefore have been a man of some wealth and social standing. John Nutter, another chapman of Burnley, became a bankrupt in 1731⁽⁶⁾ so that even in the 18th century, men had their business worries.

BUTCHERS.

Butchers were numerous and one family, named Smith, followed that trade from 1622 to at least 1710. Butchers bought their cattle at the market and also from local farmers; some of them were of course themselves farmers. In 1750, mutton was sold at 2½d. a lb. and beef at 2d. a lb.⁽⁷⁾ "Ned the butcher of Burnley" (Edward Thompson, a butcher and

1. County Record Office. QSP. 605-5.
2. Names and occupations of tradesmen in this chapter are taken from the Church registers unless otherwise stated.

3. Ch. Reg.
4. Part I 98.
5. Farrer Papers.
6. Laycock MSS.
7. Diary of Sagar of Catlow.

tenant of Bullion's Close Farm) paid £10 for an ox, 13s. for a sheep, 7s. for a lamb, 2s. for another lamb, and 28s. for the side of a pig at 3½d. a lb. A butcher who killed cattle and cut up the meat for farmers was paid at the rate of 1s. for each animal slaughtered.⁽⁸⁾

INNS AND TAVERNS.

Ale, wine and, above all, gin, were very cheap, and inns and taverns became the favourite resorts for men of all ranks. At certain periods, gin could be retailed without a licence. The principal Burnley inns were:—1: The Bull, kept by Giles Dearden in 1698, William Thomas in 1714, and Ellis Nutter from 1749 to 1760. It was a low farmhouse with timber and red brick walls; the barn was attached to the house and the Bull Croft which stretched to the present Town Hall, lay at the rear of the building. It was possibly the most important inn in the town for here were entertained the most important personages to visit Burnley, including Mr. Brindley, the great canal engineer;⁽⁹⁾ here, also, refreshments were supplied in 1760 at a cost of £1 11s. 8d. to the parish, when George III was proclaimed king.⁽¹⁰⁾ ii: The Red Lion is mentioned in 1739. It was a farm as well as inn and had fields between Plumbe Street and Parker Lane and a meadow at Saunder Bank.⁽¹¹⁾ iii: The Sparrow Hawk, probably kept by Edward Bruer 1655, his son Edward 1699, and then by Richard Hitchon, who used in the inn a Communion Flagon from St. Peter's.⁽¹²⁾ iv: The Hall Inn was a farm and inn in the 18th century and seems to have provided accommodation for travellers from a distance. It was leased from the Towne-leys by George Eastwood 1724-1752.⁽¹³⁾ Eastwood usually supplied the wine for the Communion at St. Peter's. v: The Thorn, kept in 1736 by John Crook and his son William. A grandson, Henry, later built "Swallow Hall," now the Market Tavern, where he erected a small brewery.⁽¹⁴⁾ A tavern, known as "Labour in Vain," and about six acres of land at Lane Bridge, belonged to the Thorn.⁽¹⁵⁾ vi: The White Horse, near Chancery Street, was kept in 1760 by John Hargreaves and his son or brother, James. Here the church bellringers were entertained at the royal proclamation in 1760. vii: The Parker Arms, now the Talbot, was kept by Grace Ingham in 1747. The landlady provided refreshment for the workmen engaged on the repair of the church steeple.

8. Ibid.

9. See p. 157.

10. Churchwardens' Accnts.

11. Rate Book 1800.

12. Waddington Papers.

13. Ibid.

14. Deeds connected with the Market Square.

15. Waddington Papers.

Other innkeepers were John Slater (also a clothier) 1685, William Bolton 1685, John Greenwood 1685, and — Charles 1680. The unlicensed alehouse keepers of 1715 included Elizabeth Hardy, John and James Taylor, Richard Whittaker, William Wood, Elizabeth Osbaldestone, Anne Fairbank and Catherine Whittaker.⁽¹⁶⁾

THE CLOTHING TRADE.

The period 1650-1750 was an age of fashion, and those Burnley people who were anxious to create the impression of being men and women of the world had to employ the services of one or more of the many tailors in the town. There were no "outfitting shops" where ready-made clothes were displayed for sale but tailors made clothes as ordered by the buyers. The tailor usually made the garments from the material supplied by the customer and was apparently paid on a time basis. In 1721, a master tailor claimed 1s. a day and his workman 10d. a day, so that the 3s. 6d. paid to Henry Crossley for making the sexton's clothes represented the work of three to four days. That does not seem a long time when we consider that sewing machines were quite unknown. Most tailors employed apprentices and one employed by Oliver Topper died at his master's house. We find Burnley tailors living and carrying on their trade in all parts of the township. John Pullon 1617-1658, John Crossley and Henry Crossley 1710-1750 lived near the Church; John Baron 1650-1690 lived at the Holme near Pendle Bridge; John Towers lived at Pickop, 1695-8. It is curious to find from the churchwardens' accounts that a "Dr. Allen"⁽¹⁷⁾ made the sexton's clothes in 1773 for 3s. 6d.

Hats were either flat or three-cornered or conical with a wide brim. The flat style of headgear was usually made of felt but the crown hat was made from the hair of beaver, goat or other animal. In the latter case, the hairs were gradually worked in a mat which was shaped into the form required; it was then thickened, moulded, stiffened with glue, and then dyed. In the latter half of the 17th century, there were six Burnley hatters, of whom four were carrying on their trade at the same time.

16. County R.O.: QSP. 605 and Quarter Sess. Roll 1715. 17. No other reference to this person has been found. In Rossendale, the 7th son of the 7th son was often nicknamed "Doctor," such may be the origin of the title in this case.

THE LEATHER TRADE.

Shoemakers and cobblers were fairly numerous and no fewer than 14 names are recorded for the period 1650-1713. They lived not only in the town but also in various parts of the neighbourhood—Hollingreave, Walshaw, Reedley Hallows, etc.

Two saddlers only are mentioned, John Robinson 1647-1681, who also appears as a hatter, and William Fairbank 1710. There were three skinners practising their trade in Burnley in 1657, and between 1655 and 1710 there were no fewer than seven tanners in Burnley, in addition to Richard Robinson who was described as a "foreign currier" and disposed of his leather in the town.

THE BUILDING TRADE.

Within the period 1650-1700 there were, plying their specialised crafts, ten masons, three plasterers, six glaziers, six slaters, and 22 carpenters and joiners. Of the masons, James Smith of Barden carried on his trade for at least 26 years and it was probably his brother, John, who followed the same trade at Hurstwood. James and John Fletcher of Gannow 1660-1700 and Ellis Hurst of Habergham Eaves were plasterers and had no rivals; John Fletcher was nicknamed "Dauber," an old name for plasterer, and Ellis Hurst was called a "whitelimer." Two families, the Bruers and the Boltons, had the main business in the glazing trade, though a John Ingham is recorded as a glazier in 1695-8. The chief slaters were John, Abram and Robert Cotton of Hollingreave, sons of Thomas Cotton, butcher. Of the 22 carpenters and joiners, seven were named "Smith"; they may all have belonged to the same family, though one branch lived at Brown Hill and another at Gannow.

In 1725, masons, carpenters, joiners and bricklayers were paid at the rate of 1s. a day without meat and drink, or 6d. with food. Builders who repaired a Burnley house and barn in 1730 were paid only 10d. a day.⁽¹⁸⁾

Coopers or barrel-makers often associated their trade with some other occupation. James Hargreaves 1657-1685 was a cooper but also kept the White Horse, the Boltons and John Bruer were coopers and glaziers, while many of the Smiths not only made barrels but also furniture. There were several Birtwistles of Overtown 1643-1711 who were wood turners; one of them went to live at the Duckpits for a time 1660-90. Following the same trade were James Midgecock and John Lancaster, both of Habergham Eaves.

18. Sagar Papers.

THE METAL WORKERS.

Blacksmiths played a most important part in the economic life of Burnley. From ingots of iron, they made ploughshares and pikes, wheelrims and horse shoes, nails, gates and railings. The Whittakers of Hoodhouse and of "Whittaker's Cottage" at Shorey Bank claimed most of the trade. Nicholas Whittaker 1619-37, another Nicholas 1650-78, George 1653-60, a third Nicholas 1650-1708 and Robert 1758 are all mentioned as smiths of Burnley. Jonathan Hitchon 1696 and Peter Hitchon 1729 kept a smithy at their farm "Fennyside" or "Fairyside" at Kibble Bank or Walshaw.

John Whittaker 1687-1709 and Robert Whittaker 1733-58 were described as "gunsmiths." Robert Whittaker lived in or near "Well Hall" in Church Street, which then consisted of a small farmhouse, a barn, a cottage, a smithy, two gardens, and a croft at Hill Top, the whole covering about $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres. In 1733, Whittaker took the lease of the smithy, a room over the smithy, a room over the parlour (of the Well Hall) and half a garden, lying "on the south side of the smithy and the east side of Burnley Street."⁽¹⁹⁾ It is clear that Whittaker's smithy was somewhere in the modern "Gunsmith Lane," a name which suggests a road to the workshop of Whittaker, the gunsmith. John Hargreaves owned and probably farmed the rest of Well Hall; Jeremy Wadsworth occupied the cottage.

The guns made and repaired by the local smiths were flintlocks, of which the larger variety are commonly known by the name of "blunderbuss." Powder and shot were doubtless supplied by the Whittakers, but they could also be obtained from "Cougels att Burnley."⁽²⁰⁾

John Aspden 1620, Thomas Aspden 1624-43, John Holt of Timberhill 1655, Lawrence Robert, and John Robert of Brown Hill 1632-56 are recorded as "cutlers."

OTHER TRADES.

Among the most essential tradesmen of Burnley were the corn millers. The mill to which most farmers sent their corn to be ground and their oats to be dried and made into groats and meal stood on the site of the ancient corn mill at the bottom of Bridge Street. It was an isolated stone building until a woollen factory and a brewery were built on to it very late in the 18th century. A water wheel, turned by water

19. Waddington Papers.

20. Accnt. Bk. of Sagar.

from a goit leading from a dam in the Brun, supplied the power. Copyhold tenants were supposed to be responsible for the maintenance of the dam and goit and they were also bound by custom to send their corn to be ground at the "lord's mill," but it is doubtful whether such obligations were observed in the 18th century. A half-hearted attempt was made about 1830 to force the copyholders to fulfil their duties but without any success.⁽²¹⁾ The mill was leased from the lord of the manor by the Shuttleworths of Gawthorpe, who sub-let it to working millers. John Taylor, the miller from 1684 to 1721, lived in a house almost on the site of the present Palace. Mills also existed at Padiham (John Metcalf 1647), at Cliviger (George Schofield 1686), at Extwistle (Robert Hewit) and at Bradley (James and William Parkinson 1668-75).

It is surprising to find in a very little country town, such as Burnley was in 1700, two clock-makers, Robert Davis⁽²²⁾ 1734 and John Hartley 1744, and one professional gardener, Thomas Wolles. Edmund Jackson, piper, 1627, doubtless made music at the Fair, while Michael Newton, who is styled "musician" 1653, was prominent at the head of processions leading brides and bridegrooms to and from the Church.

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY.

Burnley's long-established textile industry has undergone considerable changes in the course of its development. In 1300, the cloth that was manufactured locally was always made from wool and though this ordinary woollen cloth was still being made in the district in the early 19th century, its importance began to decline when new fibres and new materials were introduced. By 1550, a linen cloth was made in Burnley and this manufacture continued well into the 18th century. Soon after 1700, two very important developments took place in Burnley's main industry: firstly, cotton weft was used with a linen warp to make a new cloth, called "fustian"; secondly, the manufacture of worsteds gave new life to the old woollen industry. Burnley therefore entered on the 19th century with fustian, woollen and worsted industries as well as a most important wool-combing trade. For various reasons, the woollen and worsted manufactures began to decline and were replaced by cotton spinning. Eventually, the spinning trade was replaced by the weaving trade.

21. The printed order to grind corn at the mill is exhibited at Towneley. The goit from the weir in Thompson Park was made in 1715.

22. Robertshaw's Diary (Laycock MSS.)

WOOL.

Processes in the manufacture of woollen goods differed little in 1700 from those already described for 1600.⁽²³⁾ "Kerseys" were manufactured in this district before 1600⁽²⁴⁾ but "new draperies" soon made their appearance. The most important of these, so far as Burnley was concerned, appears to have been "bays," a half-worsted cloth, with warp of combed wool and weft of carded short-staple wool.

WORSTED.

Worsted had been manufactured for many years in the eastern counties, but early in the 18th century, the industry was introduced into many parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire. In 1720, worsted cloths, known as shalloons, ranterers, perperets, tammies and serges, were made in this district.⁽²⁵⁾

Worsted cloth was made from a fine yarn, spun from wool of a long staple. The wool was first sorted and graded according to the length of the staple. The long stapled wool was then cleaned and combed to separate the fibres which were made into "hanks" ready for the spinner. This process of "wool-combing," as it was called, was most unhealthy, for the operative had to work in an airless room, breathe the fumes from a charcoal stove in which he heated the combs, and endure the combined smells of wool, grease, oil and soap. Towards the end of the 18th century, Burnley became an important centre of the wool-combing industry.⁽²⁶⁾

Spinning by means of the spinning wheel was a slow process. Often enough, the husband and sons made yarn for the warp while the wife and daughters made the weft, before any weaving could be begun. Three or four spinners were needed to supply sufficient weft for one weaver. Weaving was carried out on the handloom, while dyeing and fulling and tentering seem to have become specialised industries and were pursued in "factories" that concentrated on such operations. Ordinary woollen goods were fulled but worsteds were marketed without that process.

LINEN.

In the 17th century, the woollen industry was closely rivalled by the linen industry, and for the period 1653-1660 when the church registers usually give the occupations of the people concerned, there are the names of 11 linen weavers and 17 woollen weavers. It is not clear for how long after

23. Part II 85.

25. Ibid. P. 88.

24. Wadsworth and Mann—Cotton Trade p. 7n.

26. Moffit—Eve of Indust. Rev. p. 185.

1700 the manufacture of linen fabrics continued in Burnley, but probably it declined as the production of the popular fustian cloth developed.

Linen yarn was imported from Ireland via the Ribble so that supplies were fairly easy to obtain. The main difficulty lay in the bleaching of the linen yarn for it had to be exposed to the action of sun, rain and wind "for the space of one halfe yeare to be whited before it can be made clothe." Writers have described the familiar scene of yarn fastened to posts in crofts on the hillsides and kept there night and day for months to be bleached by the weather. Few linen weavers could have afforded to carry a stock of yarn for so long and the probability is that the linen industry fell into the hands of masters who employed spinners and weavers at a piece-rate wage.

COTTON.

"Cotton wool" or "cotton" as we know it to-day was first used in Lancashire about 1600 but it was not until the 18th century that it was adopted in this district and then only as the weft in fustian. The manufacture of a cloth made entirely from cotton was carried out in Burnley soon after 1800. The raw cotton which came from the West Indies or the East was cleaned by hand, carded to straighten out the fibres, loosely twisted into a "roving," spun on the wheel, and finally woven on the handloom.

FUSTIAN.

Fustian, a strong and durable cloth made with a linen warp and cotton weft, was used for men's clothes, pillows, linings, petticoats, and many other purposes; it might be dyed and woven plain, or striped and checked. Blackburn and Bolton were regarded as the centres of the fustian trade but very early in the 18th century many weavers in Burnley and district were engaged in this branch of the textile industry.

NATIONAL REGULATIONS.

Until the end of the 18th century, the government always endeavoured to maintain the predominant position of the woollen manufacture among the industries of England. It was recognised that a prosperous woollen trade ensured the livelihood of thousands of small farmers and sheep-rearers, gave employment to many more thousands of spinners, weavers, dyers, etc., working in their village homes, and the

export of woollen goods made a great contribution to the national revenue. Already, however, before 1620, "divers people . . . chiefly in the County of Lancaster have found out the trade of making fustians made of . . . cotton wool and . . . of linen yarn."⁽²⁷⁾ The importation of cotton wool therefore became a matter of some concern, but when fine cotton fabrics were imported in increasing quantities, the government and the woollen manufacturers became seriously alarmed.

The fears of the manufacturers were only partially allayed by the Act of 1700 which prohibited the import of printed or dyed calicoes, since the importers then began to import plain calicoes which they sent to be dyed or printed in England. Once more, the government was compelled to take action, and the Act of 1721 prohibited the wearing or use of any printed, painted, stained or dyed calicoes or of any stuff made up of cotton or mixed therewith, except in the case of fustians, muslins and neckcloths. These three fabrics received favourable treatment because of the large number of people already engaged in making them.

The manufacture and dyeing of fustian cloth (cotton and linen) therefore went on apace and petitions poured into parliament, some demanding the prohibition of the use of cotton in all materials, others defending the manufacture and export of fustians. On Feb. 27th, 1735, the Burnley woollen manufacturers sent in their petition. They pointed out that "vast numbers of the poor in the town of Burnley, and places adjacent, have always been brought up in, and employed in the woollen manufacture, and their woollen goods have been exported to the Plantation"; but that "if goods of cotton be prohibited from import, the export of woollen goods will suffer."⁽²⁸⁾ In other words, the Burnley manufacturers advocated the import of cotton from the Plantations in order that the planters might become more prosperous and so be able to buy more woollen goods.

The result of all the petitions was the passing of the famous "Manchester Act" of 1736, which permitted the manufacture in Great Britain of goods made of cotton and linen. Burnley's new industry of fustian manufacture was therefore allowed to make steady progress and, with the older woollen and worsted trade, enabled the people to share in the prosperity that came with the Industrial Revolution.

27. Quoted in Wadsworth and Mann— 28. H.C. Journal XXII.
Cotton Trade p. 15.

ORGANISATION.

There were two systems under which cloth was made in Burnley, the factory system, under which the work was carried out in a workshop or "shed" by a number of paid operatives, and the "domestic" system, in which weavers, spinners, etc., carried out the work in their own homes. The latter system may again be subdivided according to the status of the worker, i.e., whether he worked for a "master" or whether he worked for himself.

FACTORIES.

The earliest details⁽²⁹⁾ about Burnley's first factories concern one that was built in 1736 by John and Henry Halstead of Bridge End House (at the junction of Calder Vale Road and Padiham Road). At the Calder Vale Road end of the present Orchard Bridge, the Halsteads erected a dyehouse; the dyer washed and dyed his cloth using the water from the Calder. Five years later, the Halsteads built "a cloth mill and another dyehouse" on their land on the opposite bank of the river (Calder Street) and turned the old dyehouse into a fulling mill. In order to provide water to turn the waterwheel that was necessary to drive the machinery of the fulling mill, they "erected a call (narrow wooden aqueduct) below the new dyehouse and mill and brought one other water called Brown (Brun) by a sate (narrow trench for running water); in addition, in order to obtain more water for fulling and dyeing purposes, they constructed a weir across the Calder.

The Halsteads of Bridge End and the Sagars of Coal Clough quarrelled about the new buildings in the present Calder Street. It was alleged that the new mill and the new dyehouse were partly erected on "Sagar land," that the goyt passed through Sagar's field, and that one end of the new weir was on Sagar's property. It was further stated that the Halsteads had cut down trees growing on Sagar's land and had used the timber in the erection of the mill and had also taken "great stones" from Sagar's property. One of the trees that was cut down was an elder "so large that it would make coffin boards for a man." The increased volume of water at one point in the river, created by the weir, endangered the banks, but when Sagar sent "three or four workmen for twenty or thirty days together to support his banks with great quantities of wood and one or two workmen stood up in the middle of the water to drive piles down," instead of assisting the workmen Halstead forced up the water and "milled at night" (as well as by day). Then Sagar sent his nephew to

29. Farrer Papers.

cut down the weir, but Halstead and two of his servants "cut his thumb half-off and put it out of joint" and threatened to shoot him as he passed by Bridge End House. Halstead was forced by the authorities to stop the goyt through Sagar's field and therefore in 1740 he leased another "piece of land at the back of two dwelling houses belonging to William Holt, apothecary, to drive a sough or sate through the said land to carry the water from the Brown into the Calder in order to better the supply of water to the fulling mill or walk mill of Henry Halstead."

These buildings in Calder Vale Road and Calder Street housed one of Burnley's earliest enterprises in textile manufacture on a large scale. The "cloth mill" contained a number of handlooms and the existence of a fulling mill suggests that it was a woollen cloth that was made; a separate building for dyeing implies some specialisation. The "Tenter Fields" shown on an old map as being near Orchard Bridge were used as drying and stretching grounds after the fulling process; the spinning was probably done by women and children in their own homes.

There are no records to tell us whether any other factories existed in Burnley at such an early date. The Sagars of Coal Clough 1660-1740 had "a shop" but that may have been only a small shed used for weaving, and it is probable that the Pollards of Hollingreave had established a small mill.

THE CLOTHIER SYSTEM.

Under the clothier system, more familiarly known as "the putting-out system," clothiers or "masters" bought the raw material—wool, linen, cotton—and employed combers, spinners, weavers, dyers, and sometimes cloth finishers to manufacture the cloth in their own homes; occasionally, the master employed warpers at his own house or bought warps from small factories that specialised in such work.⁽³⁰⁾ The workpeople fetched the raw material from the master's house or from one of his depots, and took back the yarn or the woven piece when completed. This system prevailed in Burnley until well into the 19th century. The Cross Keys, Widow Green Farm, Tunstill Square and "The Dandy Shop" (Massey Street) have all been used as centres for distribution and collection. The workers were paid at a piece rate.

In the second half of the 17th century, the following were clothiers in Burnley and the immediate neighbourhood:—John Slater, Andrew Crook of Pendle Hall 1641-59 and of

30. Acct. Bk. of Birtwistle of Padiham.

Palace House 1660, Richard Hanson of Habergham Eaves 1655, John Ingham of Schofield House 1656-72, Simon Ingham of Yatefield 1655-61, Richard Hargher of New Carr, Ightenhill 1657, Richard Mitchell of Reedley Hallows 1657-58, Richard Wilkinson of Monk Hall and Broadbank 1657, Henry Haworth of Yatefield 1661, Lawrence Hargreaves of Marsden 1668, James Hartley of Burnley 1685, and Henry Sagar of Burnley 1687.⁽³¹⁾ Nicholas Jackson 1658-80 and Thomas Jackson 1651-1706, both of Burnley, were linen drapers and manufacturers.

An inventory of the goods of William Roberts of Marsden⁽³²⁾ in 1717 shows the extent and nature of the stock of a local clothier. In his house, he had looms, a twisting mill, a warping mill, and worsted combs; 29 "couple" of warps (shallons, tammies, serges, and harateens) 530 lb. of yarn, wound bobbins, and 25 pieces of cloth. He had 268 lb. of wool (of four sorts) "out at spinning," worth nearly £11, and £24 worth of "yarn in the weavers' hands."

A note book⁽³³⁾ of 1723 kept by one of the Parkers of the Carr Hall district (Nelson) throws some light on the putting-out system. The book was used for jotting down odd accounts and occasionally for making a summary of business transactions, but many of the statements are so vague and couched in terms known only to the writer that it is impossible to make a complete picture of all the clothier's activities. Few dates are given, entries have been made on any convenient page and odd pages were used in 1688 for registering payments made by an overseer of the poor. We do learn, however, that the clothier had at least two depots, one at Carr Hall and the other at Bankfold (three miles west of Haslingden); he dealt in linen, wool, cotton and stocking yarn, and employed spinners, weavers and dyers. He also sold cloth by retail.

One of the men employed by Parker was a William Cook. He took from Carr Hall the following:—

Couple (of warps) of common broads (wool): two warps (weight 7 lb. 10 oz. and 7 lb. 2 oz. respectively) with 7 lb. 4 oz. of white weft and 8 lb. of blue weft.

Warp (weight 7 lb. 5 oz.) with weft (4 lb. 13 oz.).

2 couples	Total weight	28 lb. 8 oz.
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6 couples	" "	74 lb. 1 oz.
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8 couples	" "	116 lb. and a "pair"
			weight 7 lb. 8 oz.

31. P.R.O. P.L. 27-1.

32. Wadsworth and Mann—Cotton Trade
p. 88.

33. Copy in poss. of writer.

9 couples	.....	”	”	106 lb. 7 oz.
14 couples	.....	”	”	171 lb. 2 oz. and a “pair” 7 lb. 8 oz.
14 couples	.....	”	”	168 lb. and cotton (2 lb.), blue weft (1 lb.), sky blue (10 oz.), weft (6 lb.).
16 couples	.....	”	”	195 lb. and white cot- ton (8 oz.), weft (2 lb.).
3 couples	.....	”	”	40 lb. 7 oz.
16 couples	.....	”	”	160 lb. with weft (1 lb. 4 oz.).

He returned to Carr Hall the following woven cloth:—

6 pieces	.....	Total weight	39 lb. 7 oz.
5 pieces	.....	”	31 lb. 8 oz.
34 pieces	.....	”	207 lb. 7 oz.
23 pieces	.....	”	138 lb. 15 oz.
5 pieces	.....	”	31 lb. 3 oz.
29 pieces	.....	”	184 lb. 8 oz.
25 pieces	.....	”	161 lb. 2 oz.

The financial arrangements between the master and his workmen cannot be accurately determined. William Cook received 1s. 2d. or 1s. 3d. for spinning 1 lb., but his wages for weaving are involved with the numerous loans he received, e.g., lent at Christmas 4s., when his wife “dyed” 5s., and with the payment for goods he had bought, e.g., six yards of check 6s., half load of malt 8s.

Another weaver was Henry Cook. His accounts are very similar to those given above for William Cook. He took out warps, an occasional “pair,” small quantities of weft, and brought back the woven pieces. Under the date May 28th, 1723, we find that Parker was indebted to Henry Cook for 8s. 6d. and a further 31s. 6d. for weaving nine pieces at 3s. 6d. each. Henry was sent by his master to Halifax and to Bankfold, for which journeys he was paid 2s. each.

Among the spinners employed by Parker were Mrs. Gruny, Thomas Sagar (“Ole Sagar”) who owed his master £1 0s. 6d. and a further 2s. for cards, Thomas Gregory, Lawrence Ashworth, Ann Ashworth, Mary Bannister, John Martin, and Alice Hargreaves. They made 21 or 22 hanks from a lb. of wool. On one occasion, there were “23 lbs. of wool out at spinning.”

Parker sent his material out for dyeing, though his note-book contains several recipes for dyeing cloth or yarn in various colours. His references to this branch of cloth manufacture are the most straightforward in the whole book.

What cotton and yarn I had dyed:—

Jan. 9	Sent then 4 bundles.	
Jan. 24	Sent then cotton	17 lb.
Feb. 8	Sent then	17 lb. 8 oz.
	Sky	6 lb.
Feb. 18	Linen	5 lb. 8 oz.
Mar. 9	Irish 4 bundles.	
Mar. 31	2 bundles	11 lb.
	Cotton	20 lb.
May 12	Cotton	19 lb. 0½ oz.
May 19	6 bundles Irish yarn.	
Jul. 22	6 bundles	
	Dyed cotton	40 lb.
	Dyed linen	29 lb.
	Cotton	27 lb.

On an undated page occurs:—

Cotton and linen dyed:

Punjis cotton	20 lb.	
Linen yarn 6 bundles.		
Cotton	20 lb.	
Cotton	16 lb.	white 5 lb.
Linen 6 bundles.		
Newe 20 lb. cotton	20 lb.	
Linen	7 lb.	

It is clear that the clothier of Carr Hall made woollens and fustians; these he sold at Halifax, Colne and Kildwick. His retail sales of cloth, generally checks and fents, were confined to small quantities varying from two yards to 12 yards at 1s. 4d. a yard. There is only one record of the purchase of raw material—14 lbs. of cotton from Haslingden.

THE INDEPENDENT WEAVER.

So far, we have considered those textile operatives who worked under supervision at a factory and those who worked for a “putter-out,” but there were also many weavers who bought their own raw material, prepared and made the cloth and marketed the finished product. All these independent weavers probably dealt in woollens, for the capital that was needed for the manufacture of worsteds, linens and

fustians would put those branches of the textile industry beyond their meagre resources. The Halifax scene that has been so vividly depicted by Defoe is connected with this type of organisation and shows what may be termed "a family business," in which all members of one family, both young and old, male and female, took a part.

Among such independent small manufacturers of Burnley were Oates Sagar of Netherwood and later of Burnley Wood 1647-53, a man of some social standing in the district, John Whittaker of Oakeneaves 1653-87, the Clarks of Walshaw 1651-1710, the Hargreaves of Barden 1655-1700, and the Waltons, who lived on the Ridge above Overtown. John Walton of Overtown was a farmer in 1619, but his son and grandson were fullers and woollen weavers 1650-60.

WAGES.

There are very few records which will enable us to determine accurately the wages or payment made to the journeymen and the independent weavers. In 1626 at Rochdale,⁽³⁴⁾ it took a whole week for a man and wife to card and spin 14 lbs of wool and so earn a combined wage of 2s. 4d. Wages rose during the century, but even then, only a bare existence was possible. In 1673, a Lancashire weaver or other cloth worker earned a maximum of 4d. a day with meat and drink or 8d. without food; if employed by the year, a skilled workman earned £3, but if a "common" worker, £2 10s. 0d.⁽³⁵⁾ In 1723, a weaver at Carr Hall was paid at the rate of 3s. 6d. a piece, but we do not know how long it took to weave that quantity of cloth.

More information about earnings in Manchester in 1758 is available.⁽³⁶⁾ There, the check-weavers pointed out that a piece of cloth was warped in 1733 at 80 yards but that in 1758 the warp was anything between 86 and 96 yards long and that the material was so much better at the earlier date that a man could weave half as much again in the same time. The rate of payment however remained the same so that the weaver wove "six, eight, ten, or 16 yards for nothing." They further stated that "a tolerable good hand" could make only half a piece of ordinary check in a week. The recognised payment for the finished piece was 6s.; out of this, deductions were made, 1s. for pin-winding, 6d. for loom standing, and 3d. for candlelight. The weaver had therefore only 4s. 3d. a week if he could make a complete piece in that time, which

34. Wadsworth and Mann—Cotton Trade p. 53 and n.

35. Ibid. p. 50.

36. Ibid. p. 350.

according to the evidence was an impossibility. Destitution among the weavers was inevitable, and it was stated that a family lived four days out of seven upon nothing but water gruel "without ever a bit of bread in it." Perhaps not all families of handloom weavers were in such desperate straits for in country districts there was spinning available for women and children.

DYERS AND FULLERS.

Dyeing was rapidly becoming a specialised branch of the textile industry and many efforts were being made to discover new and fast colours. Each dyer probably had his own secret recipes and processes. Parker of Carr Hall sent out his linen yarn and cotton to be dyed but he also carried out the lengthy operation at his own "shed." For dyeing cotton red, the cotton was first boiled for four hours in water containing 5 lbs. of alum and a handful of wheat bran and was then steeped all night in the mixture; the next day, the cotton was rinsed, put in clean water and again boiled; while at the boil, 2 lbs. of peachwood (logwood chips) and two gallons of urine were added, and in this new mixture the cotton remained until quite cool. For dyeing a gold colour, 3 ozs. of "arronotta" and 3 ozs. of "potashes" were added instead of the logwood chips; otherwise, the processes were the same. To dye linen yarn blue, $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of "Roman vitriol" were pounded in a mortar and dissolved in spring water; in this the linen yarn was steeped for 24 hours; a pan of water containing $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of logwood chips was then boiled and from this small quantities were taken, mixed with urine and boiled and in this decoction the prepared yarn was steeped.

There were no fewer than eight dyers in Burnley between 1653 and 1711. Three of them were members of the same family, Richard Whittaker 1682, George Whittaker 1683 and John Whittaker 1708. Some clothiers and manufacturers had their own dye-works. John Booth of Cliviger 1723 was described as "a red miller"; and perhaps he was a middleman for the supply of logwood chips which he prepared from imported timber.

Many manufacturers, such as Halstead of Bridge End and Walton of Overtown, fullled their own cloth, so that we have only one instance of a fuller, George Anderton 1696, specialising on this process alone. Rather later, in 1770, we hear of a fulling mill on the Bull Croft; the goyt from the Calder which turned that mill was also used for turning the waterwheel used for the drainage system of the near-by coal-mine.

MIDDLEMEN.

As the textile industry increased in importance, a need arose for the services of men who not only supplied the independent weavers and small masters with the raw material in wool, Irish yarn, and cotton from Cyprus and the West Indies, but were also prepared to buy the finished goods for sale to a foreign buyer or in one of the great markets.

Even as early as 1587, Tattersall of Pickop had "a wool man," John Wood, to buy wool for him; the later Tattersalls, Richard Tattersall, mercer, 1653-60, and James Tattersall, woollen weaver, 1624-54, doubtless continued the same method of securing a constant supply of wool. A wool man was often the agent for a merchant who bought and sold large quantities of fleeces. Some merchants sold the fleeces in the packs as they were received from the seller, but others sorted the wools to suit their individual customers and so became "merchant staplers." At times, merchants not only bought and sold wool but also bought the finished pieces. One Burnley merchant was named Joseph Holt.

Among the wholesale and retail sellers of cloth in Burnley were many mercers and several linen drapers. Mercers sold silk, ribbons, lace, garterings, etc. Between 1650 and 1700, the following Burnley mercers are mentioned:—William Yates 1687, Lawrence Towneley of Westgate (died 1711), Richard Tattersall of Pickop, John Halstead of Westgate and Nicholas Mitchell. (A Robert Mitchell, clothier, who died in 1659, lived in Reedley Hallows; Richard Mitchell, clothier, who died in 1657, lived in Ightenhill Park). It is probable that Tattersall, Halstead, and Mitchell retailed goods of their own manufacture as well as the goods they bought for re-sale.

The chief linen drapers were members of a family named Jackson. Nicholas Jackson 1625-1711 was a "linen-weaver" in 1650, married Jane Ingham of Fulfilledge House and soon afterwards became a "linen draper." At the same time, his brother, Thomas, was a linen draper. Thomas lived in a large house with five hearths and was rich enough to send his son to Cambridge University; it should be added that the young student at Cambridge was "a sizar" to a Mr. Prior, i.e., he was expected to do a certain amount of fagging for Mr. Prior for which he received a shilling or two.

COAL.

During the period 1650-1750, coal was used mainly for domestic purposes and therefore coal-mining was carried out only on a small scale. Naturally the demand for coal grew greater as the population increased, and particularly after 1621, when the enclosure of the commons cut off supplies of turf and peat hitherto used as fuel. A certain amount of coal was also used in lime-burning and there was also a quantity sent to outlying villages; in 1683, Marsden coal was sold in the villages near Gargrave.⁽³⁷⁾

The earliest recorded coal-mining in the Burnley area was on Broadhead Moor in 1450, but by the end of the 16th century, there were additional pits at the Ridge, Brunshaw, Ightenhill, Habergham and Hoodhouse. Some details are available of a mine (1650) at Cliviger, near Towneley.⁽³⁸⁾ In the oldest pits, the coal was usually mined by driving into a hillside a narrow gallery which followed the seam of coal; if it was worth while to continue the gallery for some distance, the water, which must inevitably collect, was drained off through another gallery that was made from the "working face" to a point lower down the hillside. Such a method of coal-mining could seldom have been possible in Burnley, except in a few isolated places. One such "drift" pit, however, was worked near Lane Bridge in the early part of the 19th century.

The later "bee-hole" or "bee-hive" system was more often adopted. To reach the "Blackstone" seam, a narrow vertical shaft was sunk to a depth of about 30 feet. The coal round the bottom of the shaft was extracted, and the area of the circular "working" extended till a diameter of about 30 feet was cleared. This was regarded as the limit of safety with an unsupported roof, and the pit was then abandoned. Such were the "pits" on the Ridge and on Broadhead Moor, abandoned and rarely filled in, which became a menace to life and limb.⁽³⁹⁾ Groups of these "bee-hole" pits in close proximity were discovered at the top of Queen's Park, and, more recently, by the Brick and Lime Company's workmen digging on the Ridge.

A third and still later method was to sink a shaft and drive long galleries into the seams. This was the system adopted in 1650 at Towneley where water and frequent falls of "brittle earth" made mining a difficult and dangerous occupation. The shaft and galleries were supported by

37. P.R.O. P.L. 27-1.
38. Part II 90.

39. Clith. C. Roll 87.

timber, the coal was brought up in baskets by means of a windlass, and probably a ladder was used by the miners for ascent and descent.

There were several Burnley coalmines in the early 18th century, and fortunately it is possible to describe in some detail⁽⁴⁰⁾ the one that stood just off the present Plumbe Street. This particular mine was first made about 1720 by Henry Blackmore of Fulleage House. The shaft was 16 yards deep and the timbering or walling cost £1 ls. 0d. a yard; a drainage shaft, walled and 25 yards deep, was sunk some 40 yards from the "pit" shaft. At the top of the drainage shaft, a waterwheel was erected to turn a crankshaft with a heavy cogged wheel; on the cogged wheel ran an "endless chain" with buckets attached to it at short intervals. As the cogged wheel rotated, driven by the water wheel, the buckets successively descended the drainage shaft, filled from the water in the mine "sump," rose and emptied themselves into a goyt which carried away the water. The whole mechanism cost £20. There were two goyts or sluices—the "top goyt" to bring the water from the Calder for some 160 yards to work the waterwheel, and the "tail goyt" to carry away both the water from the waterwheel and the drainage water from the mine for a distance of 90 yards back to the Calder.⁽⁴¹⁾ These goyts were difficult and costly to make for there was no fall for the water either to the wheel or back to the river; the top goyt cost £10, while the tail goyt cost £95 because it had to run in a raised channel made with flag-stones. The total cost of the mine was between £150 and £180.

Then a dispute arose with the leaseholder of the land through which the top goyt ran. It appeared that he had at first given permission for his fields to be broken but, after the channel had been cut, he had withdrawn his consent, bribed to do so, it was said, by rival colliery owners. A "fire engine" (steam engine) was then suggested as a means of pumping the mine water, but its cost was prohibitive. The mine was therefore abandoned until 1736 when John Crook, landlord of the Thorn Inn, leased it from Blackmore and constructed two other sluices, one running to the water wheel from the neighbourhood of Tentre Street, and the other back to the Calder through two small fields "lying on the south-east of a certain lane called Parker Lane in Burnley." After Crook's lease had expired, Henry Blackmore gave the mine to his father-in-law, William Holt, the apothecary, who in turn, gave it to his daughter, the wife of Blackmore. On the latter's death in 1754, the widow married the Reverend John Har-

40. P.R.O. D.L. 42-14.

41. See plan in Towneley Hall.

greaves, who inherited all her property: thus began "The Hargreaves Colliery Company."

The miners carried the coal from the face to the bottom of the shaft, and it was then drawn up by John Pickles of Habergham Eaves, who probably drove an unwilling horse round and round to turn a huge whim or "whimsey,"—a cylindrical wooden structure on which the rope was wound. In 1770, the pit was worth £100 a year and produced 15-18 tons a week, though it could produce 25 tons if necessary. The value of the coal was 4d. a load, perhaps $1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt.

Another coalmine that existed on Blackmore's land in the middle of the 18th century was situated in the Bull Croft, between the Bull Inn (at the corner of Manchester Road and St. James' Street) and the Mechanics' Institute. This pit, which has given its name to Coal Street, was drained by the "bucket and chain" method. The water which turned the mine water-wheel was diverted from a goyt which had already turned the wheel of a fulling mill belonging to Gilbert Holden of the Hollins. Near the present Victoria Theatre was another coalpit; here, the coal was brought up in half-load baskets by a horse-turned whimsey. The refuse from the mine was heaped up in a mound with a steep slope towards the river; it received the name of "Coalpit Hill."⁽⁴²⁾ A coalpit is said to have existed on Marsden Road at Kibble Bank; a "kibble" being a bucket in which the coal was brought to the surface. One of the fields belonging to a neighbouring farm was known as "Pit field."⁽⁴³⁾

There is little evidence about Burnley colliers. In 1699, Edmund Cotton, possibly of Hollingreave, was a "banksman" or surface overlooker at a coalmine, and in 1725, George Parkinson was "slain in a coalpit." Wages were paid on a piece-rate system, and in 1725 were fixed at 1s. a ton for miners in a "high delph" (open cast or shallow pit) and 1s. 3d. in a "low delph" (deep mine).

AGRICULTURE.

Farming in Burnley has always been difficult and hazardous because of unfavourable climatic conditions and a clay soil. Up to the end of the 15th century, when practically all the people lived on the land, the farmer was content if he could grow sufficient food to maintain his family and rear enough sheep on the commons to make a little profit from the sale of wool. In the 16th century, a larger acreage was given to the growing of crops, particularly oats, in order to feed the increasing local population that was gradually

42. Newspaper cuttings.

43. Rate Bk. 1800.

turning to trade and industry: cattle, sheep, and wool, however, still formed the basis of the farmer's livelihood. By 1650, the commons had been enclosed, new farms had been created on them, and the outlines of Burnley's agricultural industry had at last been determined. There were many large farms of over 50 acres but the great majority averaged between 15 and 20 acres. On both large and medium-sized farms, oats were grown for local sale and cattle were reared for milk, butter and meat, but the number of sheep depended on the acreage. In 1720, on the Fulfilledge House Farm of approximately 16 acres, there were two horses worth £8 each, four cows worth £8 each, and hay and oats were grown worth £90.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The very small farms of one, two or three acres grew oats, peas and beans, and generally kept a cow; the tenants supplemented their income from the farm by work in an industry. On the farms that had been newly created out of the commons, farmers limed and drained the moorland waste to bring it into cultivation, sowed a few acres of oats, made as much meadow land as they could and did their best with the less tractable land.

The Agricultural Revolution of the 18th century seems to have made little difference in this district, for there is no evidence whatever that our local farmers introduced any of the new scientific ideas of cultivation. In the south and east of England, farmers experimented successfully with a new rotation of crops, examined soils to see what was lacking in their composition, avoided all waste of valuable land by cutting hedges, draining fields and attending regularly to field paths, kept gates, buildings and equipment in good repair, paid more attention to stock breeding, and, in short, treated farming as a science and a business. Old methods, however, persisted in Burnley and, indeed, throughout Lancashire.

Oats formed the main crop grown on Lancashire farms, and even as late as 1793, long after the initial experiments had changed farming technique, it was reported that "Oats, oats, oats are universally sown towards the north-east and south-west of Preston for years together except the chain be broken occasionally by a crop of potatoes and afterwards wheat." Oatcake, oatbread, and porridge formed the staple diet of the middle classes and the poor. Peas and beans were also cultivated. Turnips, which were grown extensively in many parts of England, were almost unknown in Lancashire, even in the later part of the 18th century. In some parts of the county, potatoes were grown as a field crop, but this

44. P.R.O. D.L. 42-14.

45. Moffitt—Eve of Indust. Rev. p. 5.

does not seem to have applied to Burnley. We have already noted that Sagar of Catlow, a farmer on a fairly large scale, paid 9d. for 4 lbs. of potatoes in 1741, so they were evidently an unusual delicacy. Even in 1800, a field "set with potatoes" was an object of interest in Burnley.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Later, however, they became an important part of the diet of rich and poor alike, and the merits of "potato pie" were portrayed by the Lancashire poet, Ben Brierley (1825-1896).

Lime was the chief fertiliser used on fields, particularly those recently enclosed from the commons, and there are still to be seen the remains of limekilns in pasture fields. Animal manure was regarded as very valuable and a farmer who "fested" a horse or cow claimed "what came of it."

The following expenses⁽⁴⁷⁾ incurred by a local but unknown farmer, who had been "turned out" by his landlord with £30 as compensation and the privilege of taking over Wood End Farm near the Duckpits, will illustrate some of the main features of a farm in 1730. The farmer spent over 30s. in the wages of carpenters, masons and other workmen in repairing the barn and parts of the farmhouse. Summertrees (tree trunks supporting the ridge pole of the barn), gobbies (smaller timbers supporting the cross beams and serving to divide the stalls) were erected, the barn was "beam-filled" and the floor was paved, the walls of the house and barn were mossed and "the riggin" (ridge of roof) was pointed; the carpenter made a house-door, a boose-leaf (door with separate top and bottom halves), a stable-door and "hecks" (racks to hold fodder); the workmen mended the parlour lover (wide chimney) and "glazend" the house; in the house, the fireplace, the "furnis hud stones" and the oven were repaired, while bricks, chimney and "furnis" in the "shop" (weaving room) entailed further expense. On the farm, the tenant spent £30 on the purchase of 1040 loads of lime and an extra 50s. for "storing, sleking and spreading" it; carting stones and building a field wall cost 10s. and "stubbing" three fields (clearing thistles, weeds, etc.) cost 6s.

Years of famine, due to drought or excessive rain, were not so common in the 18th century as in the previous hundred years. The worst time was experienced in 1699 when 131 Burnley people died, a number about double the average. Riots broke out in many places in 1709 and 1727-8 when prices trebled owing to a famine in corn and "the poor had a hard year." A similar disaster occurred in 1740 when more riots broke out in the north of England; the lack of cheap corn inspired the Burnley overseers of the poor to pro-

46. Rate Bk. 1800.

47. Farrer Papers.

vide a supply of oatmeal at cost price, an action which probably saved many lives, for the church registers record only 55 deaths in 1740. In 1756-57, crops again failed, prices were trebled, and riots ensued; serious trouble broke out at Manchester and Stockport, particularly as wages did not rise to meet the extra cost of corn. In Burnley, there were 96 deaths in 1755 and 92 in 1756.

The growing of corn crops, even including oats, on Burnley farms was gradually abandoned as improvements in communications made the importing of foodstuffs easier and cheaper, and sheer necessity no longer enforced the discouraging struggle against stubborn soils and inclement weather. In 1815, a year of drought, corn that was growing on the Thorn Croft (now the Market Square) ripened when it was only a few inches high:⁽⁴⁸⁾ in 1820-1-2, years of rain and floods, oats lay uncut in the fields until early December.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Under such conditions, Burnley farmers ceased to compete in the corn market and began to concentrate on cattle, pigs and poultry. By 1840, Burnley millers were visiting Yorkshire markets to buy oats for drying and milling.⁽⁵⁰⁾

SUMMARY.

This chapter has shown how Burnley people earned their livelihood during the 17th and early 18th centuries. Many were farmers working on their own land, and many were farm labourers working for a weekly wage. Very many more obtained their living from the textile industry—woollens, worsted, linen and fustian; a few of the textile workers were employed in a factory, some were their own masters, but probably the great majority worked for a clothier or “putter-out,” the women and younger children as spinners, the men and youths as weavers. Farmers also made what they could from the textile industry just as weavers eked out a living by working on the land in their spare time. There were also a few specialised industries connected with the manufacture of cloth—dyeing, fulling, warp-making, etc. Coal-mining was growing in importance, though, as yet, the output of coal from Burnley pits was very small.

To meet the needs of those people who had begun to devote their time to some particular branch of industry, there were many tradesmen — butchers, builders, shoemakers, coopers, smiths, pedlars, chapmen, alehouse-keepers, etc. Each so-called tradesman, however, seems to have given his time and attention to more than one trade.

48. Diary (Unknown author).

49. Diary of William Varley

50. Newspaper cuttings.

CHAPTER IV.

National and Local History, 1650-1760.

In this chapter, only those national movements and events that directly affected Burnley are outlined; foreign policy, alliances and wars, though they indirectly affected everyone, are outside the scope of this book.

1. THE COMMONWEALTH 1649-1660.

Even before the execution of Charles I in 1649, the estates of those who had actively supported the king's cause in the late Civil Wars were sequestrated and from them grants were made to various churches; in 1646, the salary of Mr. Henry Morris, minister at St. Peter's, was to be increased by £50 out of the property of Mr. Clifton of Lytham,⁽¹⁾ who was a royalist, though it is very doubtful whether Mr. Morris ever received the full grant.⁽²⁾ After the king's execution, all royal property was surveyed and offered for sale. The survey⁽³⁾ of the Manor of Ightenhill made in 1650 showed that the Crown derived a total income of approximately £150 a year from the rents of freehold and copyhold lands, fee farms, leases of coal mines and fines from the Halmot Courts. Of this sum, about £2 was derived from eight freeholders, £2 from the old monastic lands, £27 10s. 0d. from 35 copyholders in Burnley and £22 from 37 copyholders in Burnley Wood and Habergham Eaves.

Religion had played a most important part in the Civil Wars which had just ended, and as the Established Church of England had, in general, supported the royalist cause, the success of the Puritans was followed by the adoption of a more democratic form of church government and a simpler form of divine service in churches. Among the Puritans, however, there were several sections, each of which stubbornly clung to its own particular religious and political views. Cromwell himself was an Independent and granted toleration to all Puritan sects, provided that they did not combine their religious ideas with unacceptable political aims. To the Anglican Church that was bound up with the rule of bishops, no freedom of worship was granted, nor was any service according to the Roman Catholic faith permitted. In St. Peter's, the form of Puritan worship and church government, known as Presbyterianism, was adopted. Mr. Morris,

1. Lancs. Church Survey p. 166.

2. Wallis—Hist. of Burnley Ch. p. 33.

3. P.R.O. S.C. 1650 Survey for the sale of Honor of the late King.

who had served as an Anglican parson under Charles I, accepted the new creed and with Mr. Shuttleworth, Mr. Barcroft and Mr. Parker, became a preacher "fit" to expound Puritan teachings in Burnley Church.⁽⁴⁾ In 1645 "The Directory of Public Worship" replaced the Book of Common Prayer, and marriages were solemnised after 1652 before Justices of the Peace, with the minister often appearing only as a witness.⁽⁵⁾ The officiating justices were Richard Shuttleworth, William Farrer of Ewood, John Starkie, Lawrence Rostherne of Lumb, and Randle Sharples of Blackburn; banns of marriage were published "according to Act of Parliament in our Church of Burnley" "on three successive Lord's Days."⁽⁶⁾ Burnley people do not seem to have taken kindly to the new order, for whereas the average number of marriages each year during 1640-1645 had been about 20, there were only some 14 marriages in all between 1653 and 1657.

The unsuccessful attempts to find a satisfactory constitutional government for England ended in the establishment of a military despotism. For this purpose, the country was divided into ten districts, each with a Major-General as governor; heavier taxes on royalists provided the necessary funds. These army officers carried out a Puritan policy; they prohibited May-games, bull-baits and many other forms of amusement; they insisted on the observance of the Sabbath; in Blackburnshire, 200 taverns were closed.

Though the Commonwealth lasted for two more years after the death of Oliver Cromwell, many of the rigorous tenets of Presbyterianism were abandoned at St. Peter's as early as 1658, and once more the parson officiated at all church ceremonies.

THE LATER STUARTS.

Charles II 1660-1685.

James II 1685-1688.

In 1660, the Stuarts were restored to the English throne amidst general rejoicing; in Burnley, the church bells were rung to celebrate the occasion. The "Restoration" was made possible by General Monk who brought his army from Scotland to put an end to the anarchy which had followed Oliver Cromwell's death in 1658. As a reward for his services,⁽⁷⁾ and "that we may surround such a man with greater riches and splendour and that we may give him the oppor-

4. Royalist Comp. Papers p. 184.
5. Ch. Reg.

6. Ch. Reg.
7. Halmot Court Rolls.

tunity of living more wealthy and richly as is meet for him and for his King," Monk was made Duke of Albemarle and was granted the Honor of Clitheroe; he therefore became the lord of the Honor to whom all freehold and copyhold rents were paid. His heirs and successors have held the lordship up to recent times.

A special tax⁽⁸⁾ was levied in 1660 to defray the expenses of disbanding the army, paying off arrears of soldiers' pay, etc. The tax was graduated for all incomes over £5, but there was a poll tax of 6d. each for husband and wife, and 1s. for each unmarried person over 16 years of age. Burnley contributed £84 13s. 6d., of which sum approximately £64 was paid on incomes over £5 and the remainder by 205 married people and 190 unmarried persons. Many people were omitted from the compulsory levy, so the tax collector either showed favouritism or was unable to collect the money.

Religious differences still divided the country and were to prove an almost insoluble problem for the next thirty years. Lord Clarendon, the chief minister of Charles II, restored the Established Church to its former position as the only state church and passed Acts which attempted to stamp out all other forms of worship. Henry Morris, of St. Peter's, evidently a very pliable theologian, once again accepted the change, but 67 Lancashire ministers out of a total of 2000 in all England resigned their livings rather than accept the Act of Uniformity of 1662 which insisted on the use of the Book of Common Prayer. Two years later, the Conventicle Act forbade all religious meetings except those of the Anglican Church, and in the following year the Five Mile Act forbade Nonconformist ministers to teach in schools or live within five miles of a corporate town. In 1672, Charles II, who was really a Roman Catholic, issued a Declaration of Indulgence which suspended all laws against both Nonconformists and Roman Catholics; the Declaration was cancelled in the following year and once more freedom of worship was restricted.

Matters were brought to a head when Charles' brother, who was openly a Roman Catholic, ascended the throne in February, 1685, as James II. Mass was celebrated with all ceremony in the Royal Chapel and the King's first Parliament was told that he expected it to comply speedily with all his wishes. New ministers were appointed who were

ready to carry through the royal designs. By May, 1685, Protestant exiles in Holland, eager for revenge and restoration, had persuaded the Protestant Duke of Monmouth to avail himself of his popularity and the hatred of Popery which existed, to rebel against his uncle, King James II, and strike for the crown. The Duke set out from Holland with a small fleet and on June 11th, 1685, arrived off the coast of Dorsetshire: there was a rush of peasants to enlist under the banners of "Monmouth and the Protestant Religion" and soon he had 1500 men; the army of the Duke of Albemarle, who had been sent to hold the affected districts, fled in panic, and the rebel leader was proclaimed at Taunton on June 20th as "King Monmouth." On July 5th, at the battle of Sedgemoor, the rebellion was crushed by royal troops. The rebels were pursued with fury, many were cut down or executed, but a vast number of prisoners were secured and, after a farcical trial, were sold to the planters of the West Indies. Monmouth himself was executed on July 15th, 1685, a month after he had landed in England.

This disturbance created no small ferment in Lancashire, particularly in those places where there had always been bitter religious dissension among the townspeople. In Manchester in May, 1685, a man was sent to prison for publicly stating "The Duke of Monmouth is to be made King."⁽⁹⁾ In the same month, John Denby of Padiham, cordwainer, was sent by John Starkie to Preston Gaol to await trial before the Justices of Assize on a charge of uttering treasonable words, and, "while in custody of John Shuttleworth, constable of Padiham, was very boisterous in his behaviour and spoke a great deal of language against Mr. Starkie and all Justices of the Peace; the King is a rogue and a Pope; the Duke of Monmouth is living and will be in England shortly and all are knaves that will not take his part; and spoke several other ill words."⁽¹⁰⁾ The Burnley disturbances of July 11th, which have been described⁽¹¹⁾ in Chapter II, show the diverse trends of opinion in this district. In addition to the undignified bout of kicking and fighting between Towneley and the constable and the still more degrading verbal insults that passed between Towneley and the parson's wife, the comments of both onlookers and participants in the fight show the hatred that many Burnley people harboured against the Roman Catholics. Nor must it be overlooked that Towneley ordered the church bell to be rung, though he was neither a churchwarden nor a magistrate, who alone could

9. P.R.O. P.L. 27-1.
10. Ibid.

11. See p. 43-45.

give instructions for this form of national rejoicing. At the trial,⁽¹²⁾ Towneley's evidence on what had occurred was supported by Charles Wilkinson (a Catholic), Thomas Preston, innkeeper (a catholic), Robert Hall, tailor (a catholic), Richard Etough, linen weaver, who said that "he loved the King as much as Mr. Towneley could do," John Greenwood and William Bolton, both innkeepers, and Henry Hargreaves, shoemaker; the constable was supported by Mary Pollard, Adam Holden, Samuel Grimshaw, collier, Robert Elliot, labourer, Henry Parkinson and John Piccop, both carpenters. Several other witnesses appear to have been "neutral."

The attitude of the principal men in the district is interesting. In general, they seem to have tried to remain on the winning side, but they were not prepared to commit themselves. For the benefit of Towneley at the trial at the Assizes, the local J.P.s gave him a testimonial stating that he was an "honest" man but the depositions they took from the constable's witnesses show the care which was taken to prove that the first blows were struck by Towneley. Nicholas Townley of Royle was present at the initial meeting in Burnley when it was decided to celebrate the royal victory over the rebels, but he apparently took no further part in it and actually arranged for the headmaster of the Grammar School and the constable to meet at his house in order that an apology might be made and accepted. On the other hand, Braddyl of Portfield, whose father had taken a leading part in the fight against Charles I, was prepared to risk the displeasure of the King's Judges in refusing to take any action "when it was reported to him, as a Justice of the Peace, that Edward Livesay had spoken scandalous words of His Majesty."⁽¹³⁾

Some months later when the whole affair had been almost forgotten, the scare was raised once again in Great Harwood. Here, Geoffrey Rushton shouted "I am for the Duke of Monmouth," and when told that the Duke was dead, said "It is a lie: God bless the Duke"; for this offence, Rushton had to stand in the pillory at Clitheroe.

The attempts of James II to introduce toleration for Roman Catholics and Dissenters roused great opposition, while his disregard for law alienated the people to such a degree that all political parties joined in the invitation to William of Orange to become King of England.

Religious policy under Charles II and James II seriously affected two local men. Thomas Jolly,⁽¹⁴⁾ who had been appointed "Pastor of Altham Church" in 1649 when Puritanism was making such headway, followed rigid Puritan ideals: he and his flock lived "up to the rule of the Word of God," refused to recognise the ceremony of baptism as conferring the right to enter the Kingdom of God, allowed a deacon to serve at Communion, governed the church by the aid of Elders, and claimed the right to admonish the unworthy. At the Restoration in 1660, troopers arrested him and he was ejected from his pastorate, while Mr. Moore, the parson of Whalley, made a violent attack on his conduct and religious principles. He seems to have returned to Altham but again soldiers were sent to prevent him from preaching and Jolly then went to reside with Dr. Robert Whittaker at Healey Hall. Here he was seized "put on horseback without hat or shoes and carried to Burnley and thence to Bury" where he was examined. He was then sent to Skipton, but was allowed to return to Healey and again arrested and imprisoned for a month in York. In 1664, he was apparently at liberty for he preached at the house of Richard Ingham (of Yatefield?) for which he was punished by imprisonment for three months in Lancaster. Later, the Puritan enthusiast purchased a small property at Wymondhouses where he held his meetings; as a consequence, he spent nearly the whole of 1669 in prison. In 1672 when the Declaration of Indulgence was issued, Wymondhouses was licensed as a meeting place but the pastor was again thrown into prison for continuing to preach there after the licence had been withdrawn. In 1687, we hear of him again preaching at Healey Hall. Fortunately for the Nonconformists, the accession of William III and Mary in 1688 brought relief and Jolly was able to build his chapel at Wymondhouses where he continued to serve up to his death in 1703.

A Burnley Presbyterian, Charles Sagar 1636-1698, was also affected by the religious intolerance of the period. He had received his early education at the Burnley Grammar School, proceeded to Cambridge University, and at the age of twenty became Headmaster of Blackburn Grammar School. He had to resign his position at the passing of the Act of Uniformity but built up a private school. In 1672, he was allowed by the Declaration of Indulgence to start a Presbyterian church in Darwen, but as he continued to preach after the Declaration was withdrawn, he was imprisoned in Lancaster for six months. From 1688 until his death in 1698, he was the Pastor of his little church at Darwen.

14. Note Book of Thomas Jolly.

It has already been recorded⁽¹⁵⁾ how religious policy affected a few Burnley artisans in 1680 when they tried to worship at the house of George Hargreaves, a proceeding which resulted in their appearance before the Quarter Sessions and the imposition of fines. Religious differences also brought about a quarrel between the leader of the local Roman Catholics, Richard Towneley, and the Protestant governors of the Grammar School. This quarrel will be described in a later chapter, but here it may be said that Towneley hoped to influence the governors in their choice of a new Headmaster.

THE REVOLUTIONARY SETTLEMENT.

William III 1689-1702 and Mary 1689-1694.

Anne 1702-1714.

The Revolution of 1688 brought religious toleration for all except Roman Catholics. It also eventually decided the constitutional principle that Parliament and not the Crown governs the country. A prolonged war with France saved England and Europe from the despotism of Louis XIV and doubtless many men drawn from this district took part in Marlborough's campaigns in Europe.

Almost as soon as William and Mary were crowned, the Roman Catholics of Lancashire became active in encouraging the exiled James II to believe that he would be welcomed again in England by his former subjects.⁽¹⁶⁾ Arms were collected and preparations were made for a rising; a Colonel Parker was assigned the task of murdering William III, and a carpenter named John Lunt was employed to travel between St. Germain, the French home of the exiled king, and Lancashire. Charles Towneley appears to have been particularly active, especially after 1690, when he was expressly excluded from the pardon given by William III to many who had previously supported the Roman Catholic James II. The plot was discovered in 1694 and the agents were brought to trial. Witnesses said that Charles Towneley had been appointed colonel of one of five regiments which had been enrolled in Lancashire and London and that eight horse-loads of arms and six cases of arms, including pistols, had been secretly carried to Towneley Hall; one witness, who had been employed in carrying goods to Towneley from Barnet, the home of Mistress Towneley, said that Towneley was full of arms, swords, pistols and carbines and asserted that there were arms in Lancashire sufficient to equip 1,000 horsemen. Nicholas Rigby, a servant of Charles Towneley,

15. Part II p. 130.

16. Jacobite Plot of 1694.

was stated to have bought in London, arms, jack-boots and kettledrums. Much of the evidence was undoubtedly false and the accused men were acquitted on the capital charge.

THE EARLY HANOVERIANS.

George I 1714-1727.

George II 1727-1760.

The reigns of the first two Hanoverian monarchs are important because the rule of the Whigs prevailed. Under them, the authority of Parliament was finally established and England at last began to settle down. However, a spirit akin to apathy followed the virtual recognition of religious and political freedom for all, for whereas the intolerant attitude of statesmen and rulers in the 17th century had fostered a sturdy independence of thought and action, it now seemed that the tolerant policy adopted in the 18th century was accompanied by a distressing decline in religious enthusiasm and decay of humanitarian principles. Men were engrossed in industry, trade and commerce; so much so that materialism replaced idealism. With the coming of the Industrial Revolution which towards the end of this period began to influence almost every part of life, there was a far greater tendency than ever before to exploit the helplessness of the poor.

All local contemporary documents of the early 18th century show a somewhat lax attitude on the part of the people; public holidays, bell-ringing, celebrations in the local inns, cruel sports appear to have occupied a foremost place in Burnley's social life. There are no references to religious life except the cost of "treating" the preachers at St. Peter's; the few details we have concerning the local pauper problem betray a lack of appreciation of the very real misery that was suffered by the destitute poor.

The wars of the period provided opportunities for public rejoicing. The declaration of hostilities against Spain in 1739 that heralded the so-called "War of Jenkin's Ear" 1739-1741 cost the parish 25s. in the ensuing celebrations; evidently, Burnley, like so many other places, rejoiced that the long years of peace had at last come to an end. News of the only victory, the capture of Porto Bello by Admiral Vernon, was conveyed to the townspeople by the ringing of the church bells. The Spanish War soon merged into the War of the Austrian Succession 1741-1748, but as this war was generally unpopular and there were no great victories by British troops, it was the peace treaty of Aix la Chapelle that was celebrated by the ringing of bells and treating of the ringers to 3s. 6d. worth of ale. It is curious that little

jubilation was shown during the Seven Years' War 1756-1763, though there were great victories won that laid the foundations of the British Empire. One such victory was celebrated by the spending of 4s. as "expenses at the taking of Cape Breton." The end of the war was marked by the erection of a sundial on the wall of St. Peter's, probably as the town's "victory monument."

Popular interest in this period is generally focussed on the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745, when attempts were made to restore the Stuarts. In 1715, the main centres of activity were in the Highlands of Scotland and in the North-West of England. The Scottish rebellion was crushed at the Battle of Sheriffmuir, but the English rebels under an incompetent commander marched unmolested to Preston, which they occupied. In spite of the fact that royalist troops were advancing, the town was not put into a state of defence, and consequently after some bitter fighting in the streets, the Jacobite commander capitulated and 1500 rebels surrendered though many others escaped.

The main interest for Burnley people in the 1715 Rebellion was the fate of Richard Towneley and three or four Burnley men who were seized and tried for taking part in the rebellion. The Burnley men were William Harris, shoemaker, Joseph Porter, labourer, and Stephen Sagar, labourer; another list includes the name of James Appleton, yeoman, who was a Roman Catholic and lived in Burnley Wood, probably on one of the Towneley farms in that district. The first three were tried at Liverpool and executed at Manchester. Richard Towneley was tried in London where evidence was given that he had been in charge of a troop of 20 men, among whom were enrolled his coachman, butler and postilion. Richard Towneley's defence was that he had been forced into the insurrection and had not worn the rebel badge; he further stated that he had left Towneley Hall through fear of being driven out as a Roman Catholic and had sought refuge with a Mrs. Ramsden near Rochdale and then proceeded to Kirkham, where he was seized by the rebels and taken against his wishes to Preston and so captured by the king's soldiers. When the jury refused to find Towneley and other prisoners guilty, it was reproved by the Judge, Baron Montague, and another jury was summoned. The second trial resulted in the execution of some prisoners, but Towneley was fortunately acquitted of all complicity in the rebellion.

The 1745 Rebellion was led by the romantic Bonnie Prince Charlie. Landing in Scotland with only seven men, the Prince soon collected an army of enthusiastic Highlanders and entered Edinburgh. A few weeks later, he marched into

England but found that few recruits joined his standard. He pressed on to Manchester where Towneley's regiment of 200 to 300 men awaited his arrival, and then set out for Derby and London. The Towneley to lead the rebel contingent was Francis, son of Charles; he had lived since 1728 at the French court, and just before the outbreak of the rebellion had visited Wales, Towneley Hall and Gawthorpe, and had gathered men to fight under him in the Stuart cause. At Derby, orders were given for a retreat and then began the weary and disheartening march back to Macclesfield, Manchester, Preston, Lancaster and Carlisle. At Lancaster, Towneley is said to have played on the church organ: that organ is now in Whalley Parish Church. Towneley and the Duke of Hamilton were ordered to stay behind at Carlisle and fight rearguard actions while the Prince continued his retreat—a retreat which finally ended at Culloden Moor, near Inverness, where the rebel army was annihilated. Meanwhile, Towneley, whom desertions had left with only some 113 men, was given the task of defending the city of Carlisle, while Hamilton with 274 Scots undertook to defend the Castle. Cannon were mounted on the walls and before the gates, sheep were collected for food, and Towneley contributed £80 towards the pay of the soldiers. When the Duke of Cumberland with the Royal army advanced against the city, Hamilton suggested surrender to avoid useless slaughter and in spite of Towneley's refusal to agree to such a course, the white flag was hoisted on the Castle. Francis Towneley, six captains, six lieutenants, six ensigns, the adjutant, quartermaster and 93 N.C.O.s and men thereupon surrendered. Towneley and Hamilton with their officers were lodged in Newgate where there was some wrangling between them. At the trial before a jury of twelve men, two chief justices, four justices, two barons and two J.P.s, Towneley pleaded "not guilty" to fighting against the King, but could not deny wearing the white cockade, the badge of the rebels. Witnesses who had turned "King's evidence" said that Towneley had been present with the army at Derby carrying a brace of pistols and wearing the white cockade and had followed flags inscribed "Liberty and Property" and "Church and King." Towneley's defence, that he held a French commission and could not therefore be tried as a rebel against the English Crown, was set aside by the justices on the ground that he was an Englishman. He was therefore found guilty and was executed on Kennington Common. His head was fixed on Temple Bar and after some time was taken down and given to his family; it was kept at Towneley Hall but eventually was taken to London. It is interesting to note that on August 12th, 1947, the head of Francis Towneley was buried in the Towneley vault in St. Peter's.

CHAPTER V.

Religion, 1650-1750.

GENERAL SURVEY.

We have already seen in an earlier chapter how religious changes in the 16th and 17th centuries brought about a cleavage in Burnley that was not soon to be healed. The first and greatest break of all came in the middle of the 16th century when worship according to the Roman Catholic faith was prohibited, and laws were passed to force all men and women to accept Protestant doctrines⁽¹⁾ Hence priests and worshippers at St. Peter's had to conform to the new state religion or suffer severe penalties. Many Burnley papists chose to continue their own form of worship in secret and thereby incurred the wrath of the government authorities. Towards the end of the same century came the rise of the Puritan party which objected to the formal ceremonies and ritual of the Church as well as to the autocratic government of the Church by bishops and clergy. These Puritans, republican in political outlook, were held in check a time, but they were never exterminated. Instances have already been given to show the local opposition to the recognised Church fasts which Puritans regarded as popish in origin and therefore to be denounced.⁽²⁾ Finally, in the Civil Wars 1642-1649, Puritanism won the day, and Presbyterianism, one of the many forms of the Puritan doctrine, was adopted in St. Peter's in June 1645 and survived until 1658, when a return was made to the old order, or, as it is called in the marriage register, "The New Order."

During these thirteen years of Presbyterian rule in St. Peter's, the altar table was probably placed in the nave of the Church, for, as it was the "Lord's Table," it ought to be in the midst of the people and in their keeping rather than remain in the chancel in charge of the minister; the sacraments of baptism and communion were reduced to mere symbolism without "the golden, glittering, glorious and specious inventions and pompous services of man"; services were plain and simple and devoid of all ceremony; hymns were sung without the help of choir and organ; sermons were preached by those whom a select body of Presbyterians declared "fit" to expound the Scriptures. At the same time, festival days were abolished and sports were no longer encouraged or even tolerated as

1. Part II Chap. IX.

2. Ibid. p. 129.

innocent amusements. It was believed that by such austere means a community of pious, earnest and God-fearing men and women would be created.

It is not certain how far Presbyterianism was sincerely accepted in Burnley. Certainly Mr. Morris, the incumbent of St. Peter's, accepted the change and became a member of the body that examined the orthodoxy of preachers; and Mr. Shuttleworth, Mr. Barcroft and Mr. Parker were declared fit to preach; but these facts do not tell us the attitude of the generality of Burnley people. The only indication of the popular view of the change may perhaps be seen in the marriage register of the time. From 1646 to 1652, Mr. Morris apparently continued to officiate at marriage ceremonies and there was an average number of 20 marriages each year; from April 1653 to September of the same year there were ten marriages. Then the office was taken over by the local Justices of the Peace, Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe, John Starkie of Huntroyd, William Farrar of Heywood, Randle Sharples of Blackburn, and Lawrence Rostherne of New Hall, and the number of marriages was suddenly reduced as if people were doubtful of the validity of the new ceremony. For the remainder of the year 1653, there was one marriage, in 1654, five, in 1655, five, in 1656, none, in 1657, three. In 1658, the old ceremony was re-introduced, and during the next six years the yearly average of marriages was increased to eighteen. It really seems as if Burnley people were not very anxious to avail themselves of the services of the Presbyterian lay officers.

At the Restoration of the Stuarts in 1660, the Established Church of England was once more restored and the Book of Common Prayer, as used today, was prepared for the use of worshippers. Acts were passed making unlawful any religious service other than that performed in the Established Church and though relief was granted to Dissenters and Roman Catholics by several Declarations of Indulgence, the concessions were withdrawn almost as soon as they were granted. Finally in 1689, the Toleration Act granted freedom of worship to all except Roman Catholics and atheists, so that Dissenters could at last worship quite openly. During the 18th century, civil disabilities, imposed on all but members of the Established Church, were relaxed by annual Acts of Indemnity. Unfortunately, the new spirit of toleration seems to have weakened the religious enthusiasm which had been so prevalent when every section was struggling for existence.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH.

THE FABRIC.

In 1650, the fabric of the Parish Church remained the same as that originally constructed in 1532. It consisted of the chancel, the Towneley and the Stansfield (now Scarlett) chapels, the nave, two aisles, a vestry at the west end, and the tower. Pews had been installed in 1634 and actually some of these 17th century bench ends were not removed until 1903; the floor had been flagged, a churchyard wall had been built, and some effort had been made to ensure order and cleanliness.

In the 18th century, repairs to the fabric of the church were frequent and in the Churchwardens' Accounts there are many references to payments for work done by local masons, plasterers, joiners, glaziers and blacksmiths. A desk was made and erected in 1721 and a singer's seat in 1760, but the most important additions were the three-decker pulpit—"that mountain of wood"⁽³⁾—and a gallery in the west of the church. Family pews and graves were matters of great importance and any slight alteration that a family desired had to be sanctioned by the Consistory Court before it could be made. Such was the case with the Stansfield (now the Scarlett) Chapel, which in 1634 had been allocated to Richard Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe who held the front pew, with Peter Ormerod behind him and Richard and Lawrence Sagar and John Towneley sharing the third pew.⁽⁴⁾ In 1716, "Richard Towneley Esq. agreed to an exchange of seats in this Church with John Holden, Mr. Towneley being to have the seventh seat in the North side of the North alley and John Holden the third seat on the South side of the South-alley."⁽⁵⁾ Then John Haydock of Heasandford whose ancestors were buried in the Chapel was anxious to have room there for his own grave and therefore sought and obtained a faculty to take down a seat and erect two others in such a way that there would be space enough for "a fair grave."⁽⁶⁾ Apparently this alteration caused some discomfort to the occupants of the neighbouring pews, for, two years later, John Sagar of Coalclough obtained a licence to build a new pew in place of his old one "on the South aisle adjoining the wall and pew of Richard Shuttleworth on the East and the small pews or forms on the West"; the new seat was to be 2 yards 1 inch in length and 1 yard in breadth.⁽⁷⁾

It is possible to picture the church in some detail as it existed in the first half of the 18th century. The chancel with its 16th century window was only 8 yards long (it is now 14

3. Wilkinson—Hist. of Ch. p. 107.

4. Par. Ch. Reg. p. 290.

5. Ibid. p. 284.

6. Farrer Papers. D.19.

7. Ibid.

yards) and was open for its whole length to the Towneley and the Stansfield Chapels; it was separated from the nave by a tall wooden screen which dated from the early 16th century. The nave was as long as at present and was separated from the aisles by tall octagonal pillars that ran right up to the roof which they supported. There was no clerestory in 1750 so that the roof over the nave was much lower than at present, and was continuous with the aisles. The Churchwardens' Accounts make no mention of the purchase of oil except for oiling the bells and softening leather so that in all probability the church was lit with candles; on many occasions, candles were bought by the churchwardens, and the "candlesticks" which the sexton cleaned for sums ranging from 1/- to 3/- were probably "candelabra." Actually there would be little need for artificial illumination for all church services and meetings were held in the daylight. (A parish meeting in 1710 began at 2 p.m.⁽⁸⁾) "Lanthorns" were frequently bought and more frequently mended and "new sights" for them were a constant source of expense; they were probably provided for the sexton when he went to ring the curfew and for other bellringers. The huge pulpit of varnished Dantzig oak was situated where the present pulpit stands and when it was erected in 1742 the stone of a pillar had to be cut in order to accommodate it. It was an unsightly object and very inconvenient, for many worshippers would have great difficulty in seeing the altar since the pulpit occupied a great part of the space in front of the screen. The nave was divided roughly as at present by three aisles or pathways (one running down the nave and the others down the north aisle and south aisle respectively) and two "cross-alleys" (one between the north and the south doors and the other in front of the screen). The font stood in the cross-alley between the doors. There were 19 rows of pews between the chancel and the cross-alley in the west end of the church and six rows of oak benches between the cross-alley and the west wall. The benches were allotted "in common" to the poor of the several townships of the parish. Some of the pews were of the "box-type" if the dimensions of the pew (2 yards by 1 yard) built by John Sagar may be taken as a general guide. Special seats in churches were usually allotted to parish officials, — the churchwardens, constable and dog-whipper.

The first gallery in the church was erected in the west end in 1737 at the cost of Lawrence Ormerod of Ormerod, Gilbert Holden of Hollins and William Holt of Burnley, apothecary, who allocated to themselves the four front seats.⁽⁹⁾ The gallery was 17 yards in length and 12 yards in breadth and

8. Par. Reg.

9. Waddington Papers.

was constructed at a time when many improvements were being made both in the church and the town. The King's armorial device was placed on the wall of the church interior in 1756.⁽¹⁰⁾

There is no very definite record of any organ in St. Peter's before 1803 when a "new organ" was installed in the church. A later organ stood on an elevated platform immediately in front of the chancel window. Up to 1702, only one bell (a heavy one of 19 cwts.) seems to have existed at St. Peter's since 1551 when "3 big solemn and fine bells and 1 sanctus bell" "with iron to hang them by" were taken away by order of the Crown. At any rate, in 1685 Towneley ordered "the bell" to be rung and Mistress Hartley threatened to lock "the ringer" inside the belfry;⁽¹¹⁾ Towneley certainly paid "ringers" but they doubtless relieved one another during the five hours (3 p.m. to 8 p.m.) of the celebrations. Very early in the 19th century, there were four bells, which, according to a statement in the Churchwardens' Accounts "were cast in the year 1702" and had a total weight of 37 cwts. 2 qrs. 27 lbs. The maker, Mr. Samuel Smith of York, used the metal of the old bell from Burnley which "weighed about 19 cwts., or within 30 lbs., after the cannons were cut off and lost." One of the bells was hung in 1749 or 1750:—"Spent upon Richard Senior in treating about a bargain to hang the bell, 5d.." "Thomas Parker, blacksmith, 7/-," "Fetching the bell," £4/4/0," "Unloading the bell, 6/4," "Hanging the bell, £4/4/0," "Three other ringers when the bell was hung, 3/-."

Outside on the wall of the church was the resplendent sundial erected in 1764, while on the tower was a weather vane and clock, both of which caused much expense for repairs. The churchyard did not present a picture of neatness; payments made to the sexton for "Mowing down the docks in the churchyard," "Dressing the trees" and "Draining the churchyard and letting the water off" betray a sad state of neglect. On the other hand, new gates, new steps, repairs to the churchyard walls, and new flags for the pathway show some desire for improvement.

INCUMBENTS.

Henry Morris: 1638-1664.
 John Wallwork: 1664-1671.
 John Kenyon: occurs 1671.
 Robert Hartley: 1673-1688.
 Thomas Kay: 1688-1690.
 Richard Kippax: 1691-1723.
 James Matthews: 1724-1744.
 Turner Standish: 1744-1787.

Henry Morris 1638-1664 was minister during the exciting times of the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth and the Restoration. He submitted to the Arminianism of Archbishop Laud, and afterwards accepted the Presbyterian system under which he was recognised as "an able and orthodox divine" and "fit to expound the Gospel"⁽¹²⁾ and was appointed an examiner of the orthodoxy of other preachers. He acted as registrar and witness of marriages in St. Peter's while the ceremony was being conducted by one of the Justices of the Peace. At the Restoration in 1660, Morris once more became an adherent of the Established Church.

John Wallwork and John Kenyon are known to us only by their names and signatures in the parish registers.

Robert Hartley had been a minister at Padiham before coming to Burnley, and was described as "Minister of Padiham" when he married Mary Riley of Green, widow, in 1659 at St. Peter's Church.⁽¹³⁾ He bequeathed 20/- a year to the curate of Burnley "if he shall read morning prayer in the Church of Burnley every morning, except he be hindered upon urgent occasions or sick or impotent: the occasion to be judged of and allowed by two of the next neighbouring ministers, if any dispute arise." The 20/- was the rent of a house "in which John Taylor, miller of Burnley, resides."⁽¹⁴⁾ The salary of the incumbent of St. Peter's was certainly very small but it is difficult to see why the new endowment should have such conditions attached to it. One wonders whether the donor's object was to give an incentive to his successors to maintain enthusiasm for their church when toleration was granted.

The refusal of Mr. Hartley to join in the rejoicings at the defeat of the rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth shows him to have been a daring supporter of the Established Church at a time when Roman Catholicism seemed to be in the ascendency. It would require no small amount of courage for a local parson to oppose the wishes of the greatest landowner in the district.

Nothing is known about Thomas Kay except that he was buried at Whalley. There are no entries in the registers for 1687-1690 so that we are deprived of much information that would have been of great value in determining the attitude of the parishioners to the very important political and religious changes that occurred during his ministry at St. Peter's.

There is also some doubt about the career of Mr. Kay's successor, Richard Kippax. He was a member of an old

12. Roy. Comp. Papers p. 194.

14. Waddington Papers.

13. Ch. Reg.

yeoman family of Bradley, Nelson, entered Holy Orders in December 1679,⁽¹⁵⁾ and was described in 1682 as being "of Marsden, clerk."⁽¹⁶⁾ He may therefore have been living at Bradley with his family or he may have been minister in charge of Marsden Church. He married Mary, the daughter of Oliver Ormerod of Foxstones, to whom her father bequeathed in 1683 the residue of his personal property after one-third had been given to her children, one-third (including "all his apparel, one great ark in the barn and all inch boards of oak in the house and about") to his eldest son and one-third to the widow; the father also left a further £100 "to the sons and daughters of Richard Kippax, Parson of Burnley." Such a description given to Mr. Kippax in 1683 throws some doubt on the exact status of Mr. Hartley in 1673-1688 and Mr. Kay 1688-1690, but the Clergy List for the Diocese of Chester in 1691 shows that Richard Kippax, B.A. was appointed Parson of St. Peter's by the Bishop of Chester on August 22nd 1691.

There is also some ambiguity about the exact status of a "Parson Halstead" at this time who, according to a note of July 11th, 1710, in the registers in the handwriting of Mr. Robertshaw, was "in the Church" i.e. St. Peter's. Perhaps Mr. Robertshaw's statement may be explained by the following paragraph.

James Matthews 1724-1744 was the son of the Vicar of Whalley. When he was appointed to Burnley there was a great deal of dissatisfaction because many parishioners wanted Parson William Halstead, late of Burnley and then Vicar of Thornborough, to take charge at St. Peter's. Actually, both Matthews and Halstead were nominated but naturally the Vicar of Whalley with whom lay the final decision appointed his own son. The parishioners then tried to persuade the Bishop of Chester to dismiss Matthews and sent him a petition⁽¹⁷⁾ pointing out that Matthews "having several times preached in our chapel and being a very little man, delivers his discourses with so low, inarticulate and perplexed volubility or nimbleness of speech that such as sit in the remoter parts . . . cannot possibly hear or understand his discourses to edification. But the Rev. William Halstead whenever he preached in our chapel delivered his discourses to the greatest satisfaction of the whole auditory. We therefore humbly hope your Lordship will exert your wonted zeal for this your chapel, that it may be filled as formerly, for though sectaries swarm in the neighbouring chapelries, they have not hitherto been able to get a footing in our parish, our chapel having been well supplied

15. Clergy List 1691.

16. Deeds of Foxstones, Cliviger.

17. V.C.H. VI. 452.

for sixty years past: but now to our great grief, we hear that two conventicles are got licensed within our chapelry since the death of our late curate."

It was during Matthews' tenure of office that Bank-house became the parsonage; the "Old Parsonage" which had been the home of the incumbents of St. Peter's for three centuries was consequently abandoned. The parson farmed the land attached to his new home and on one occasion received 3/6 from the parish for leading stones.⁽¹⁸⁾

Mr. Turner Standish, B.A., Brasenose College, Incumbent of St. Peter's 1744-1787, was one of the Standishes of Duxbury and an ex-naval chaplain.⁽¹⁹⁾ He was absent from Burnley for long periods and the parishioners had to rely on the services of several "officiating ministers" who were not only the preachers on Holy Days but also took charge of the ceremonies of baptism, burial and marriage.⁽²⁰⁾

There is little doubt that the Church passed through a period of religious depression during the middle of the 18th century. It has already been seen that Mr. Matthews preached only "several times" at St. Peter's during the first year of his incumbency; after 24 years as minister at Burnley, he deemed it fitting to be buried not at his own Church but at Whalley, where his father had been Vicar 1703-1738. Of the father, it is said "The Vicarage sustained great damage during his incumbency. He sold the presentations to the curacies, and put to sale the lowest offices as those of Parish Clerk and Sexton. His wife, admitted that she got £3 for the sexton's place and might have had £5. The patronage of six, if not of seven, of the curacies was alienated from the Vicarage under I Geo.I.. 1714, by his means."⁽²¹⁾

It was this careless attitude on the part of the 18th century parsons to the spiritual needs of the people that necessitated the engagement of many preachers who gave their services in return for their entertainment at dinner. A similar spirit may perhaps be seen in the expenses incurred in the celebration of Holy Communion. Every year large quantities of wine were bought⁽²²⁾ but from the fact that a small amount of bread was purchased for Palm Sunday, Whitsuntide, Lent, Easter and Christmas, it seems as if it was on the major Festivals alone that Holy Communion was celebrated at St. Peter's. This was certainly the case in other parishes for, in 1741, the Bishop of Oxford wrote to his clergy saying

18. Churchwardens' Accnts.

19. Wallis—Hist. of B'ley Ch. p 47.

20. Ch. Reg.

21. Taylor-Taswell—Wh. Ch. & Abbey.
p. 154.

22. See p. 69.

“One thing might be done in all your parishes; a Sacrament might easily be interposed between Whitsuntide and Christmas.”

The principal visiting preachers were Mr. Godly 1730, Mr. Grimshaw 1738, Mr. Weatherhead 1740-1755, Mr. Nobbs 1749, Mr. Meadowcroft 1749-1750, Mr. Worton 1750, Mr. Fishwick 1752-1755, Mr. Wilson 1753, Mr. Whittaker 1755, Mr. Welsh 1758, Mr. Halliwell 1761-1778, and Mr. Topper 1770. Mr. Grimshaw was the Curate of Todmorden and later Vicar of Haworth 1742-1763 and probably visited Burnley not only as a preacher at St. Peter's but as an occasional preacher to little local religious societies that under the organising power of the Rev. John Wesley were eventually absorbed into the country-wide Wesleyan movement. There were certainly evangelist meetings held in Burnley Wood soon after Mr. Grimshaw's death. The Rev. James Fishwick was the incumbent of Padiham and the father of Webster Fishwick,⁽²⁴⁾ an important Burnley tanner and cotton manufacturer, and a strong supporter of St. Peter's. The Rev. William Halliwell was the Curate of Holme Church 1763-1796 and Headmaster of the Burnley Grammar School 1761-1796. Mr. Worton is probably “Dr. Worton of Burnley” who died in 1796.

These preachers were recompensed for their services by being entertained to dinner at the expense of the parish. “Mr. Godly preached, 2/6.” “Spent upon Mr. Meadowcroft, 2/6.” “Dining Mr. Weatherhead, 2/6,” “Dining Mr. Wilson, 2/6,” are typical entries in the Churchwardens' Accounts. Occasionally the cost of the preacher's services amounted to only 1/-. In 1778, Mr. Halliwell's care of the parish was rewarded by “a seven years' treat” which amounted to £1/19/7.

THE ADVOWSON.

The right to nominate the priest in charge of St. Peter's has passed through many hands. If a Church at Burnley existed before the Norman Conquest, it is probable that the king exercised the right of patronage. After the Conquest and up to 1357, the advowson was held in succession by the following:—

Roger of Poitou

De Lacy

1121. The monks of Pontefract

1146. The Dean of Whalley

1298. The Vicar of Whalley, who at the time was the Abbot.

In 1357, Whalley Abbey obtained the right to appoint one of its own monks to serve at Burnley Church, paid him £2/13/4 a year, and claimed all the tithes from Burnley. This system continued until 1547 when the Abbey was dissolved. The right to the advowson then became somewhat involved, for both the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was Rector of Whalley by royal grant, and the Vicar of Whalley, as priest in charge of Whalley Parish, claimed the privilege to appoint curates to serve at Burnley Church.

The priest in 1547 was John Aspden and his salary was made up by a grant of £4 by the Archbishop out of the Rectory and £4/8/11 by the Duchy out of the rents of the old chantry lands. On the death of Aspden in 1567, the Duchy withdrew its grant and for 22 years the parson, who was not regularly appointed, was maintained by subscriptions from the parishioners. It may well be that the Vicar of Whalley, George Dobson, 1558-1580, neglected to license a curate to St. Peter's, for he was "an ill Vicar" who taught "in the Church the seven Sacraments, and he persuadeth his parishioners that they shall come and receive but in one kind, and in any case to take it not as common bread and wine as they may take it at house or elsewhere. That he gives at Easter to certain of his parishioners consecrated Oasts (Hosts) saying that in them is Salvation."⁽²⁵⁾ In other words, Dobson was trying to maintain Catholic doctrines in a Protestant Church and would not therefore be very willing to appoint a curate to Burnley Church which had apparently been ready to accept the reformed faith.

In 1589, Burnley people asked for the appointment of "some godly minister" to be elected by three or two J.P.'s and for the payment of £4/8/11 out of the Duchy; at the same time, they promised to subscribe £8/17/9 each year to make the parson's salary up to £13/6/8.⁽²⁶⁾ In 1609, a petition was sent to the Archbishop asking for a grant out of the Rectory; as a consequence, the Archbishop made an annual grant of £11/10/0 so that the parson's salary was now about £23.⁽²⁷⁾ Under the Presbyterians, the parson fared rather better and in 1650 his salary amounted to £40 (from the rectory, £11/10/0; from the Duchy, £4/8/2; from rents of lands confiscated from the royalists, £24/1/10).⁽²⁸⁾ A decision taken in 1646 that the sum of £50 a year should be assigned to the minister of the Chapel of Burnley out of the sequestered estates of Mr. Clifton of Lytham was not carried out and in 1651 Mr. Morris complained that he had not received any benefit from the grant; he was

25. Taylor-Taswell—Hist. of Wh. Ch. p. 152.

26. Inquis. at Manc. 31 Ch. II C93 61-19.

27. Ibid.

28. Lancs. Ch. Surveys I 166.

therefore awarded £50 from the tithes of Aighton, Bailey, and Chaigley. Mr. Morris did receive £25 in 1652 from the Lytham lands.⁽²⁹⁾

At the Restoration in 1660, the old system was restored and Mr. Morris' salary once more depended on the grants made by the Rectory and the Duchy, and the contributions made by the several townships of the parish. The inhabitants were however not anxious to resume their obligations and in 1663, Mr. Morris reported that they had neglected to pay their share of his salary, amounting to £8/17/9. Twenty years later in 1683, the parishioners were ordered to pay their contributions as follows:—⁽³⁰⁾

Burnley	.....	£1 12 5
Habergham Eaves		£2 4 3
Cliviger	.....	£2 4 4
Briercliffe	.....	£2 16 9

Mr. Kippax was nominated by three Justices of the Peace "inhabiting next the Chapel," accepted his curacy from the Archbishop of Canterbury, from whom he obtained his licence, and entered into his ministry at St. Peter's with the consent of the Vicar of Whalley. Such a procedure was in accordance with the arrangements of 1559, but difficulties would arise when the Justices could not agree upon their nominee. This difficulty occurred on the death of Mr. Kippax in 1734, for Thomas Stanley and other J.P.s nominated James Matthews while Ralph Ashton and other Justices supported the candidature of William Halstead, late of Burnley, and Vicar of Thornborough. The Vicar of Whalley claimed the right of advowson and therefore appointed his own son, James Matthews, to the incumbency of Burnley.

In 1717, Richard Kippax certified⁽³¹⁾ that his income came from the following sources:—

Grant by the Archbishop of Canterbury.....	£11 10 0
Grant by the Duchy	£4 0 0
Cockridge Farm rent (half share)	£1 3 9
Surplice Fees	£6 18 0
Keeping the Register	6 8
Reading Morning Prayers	£1 0 0
Subscriptions from Shuttleworth, Townley, and Haydock (not certain).....	£1 3 6

Cockridge Farm had been granted jointly to the Church and to the Grammar School and therefore half the rent of £2/7/6

29. Wallis—Hist. of Ch. pp. 32-33.
30. Ibid. p. 33.

31. Gastrell's Notitia.

was given to the parson of Burnley Church. The surplice fees were the fees charged for baptisms, churchings, marriages and burials. The £1 for reading prayers was the bequest of a former parson, Robert Hartley. The annual subscriptions from the families at Gawthorpe, Royle and Heasandford were those that had been voluntarily offered in 1559 and compulsorily demanded in 1683; the total sum that ought to have been raised according to the promises of the parishioners was £8/17/6.

One valuable item in the parson's salary was not recorded by Mr. Kippax. This was the income from the payments made by parishioners in lieu of the ancient tithes. In Roman Catholic days, every householder had given to the Abbot of Whalley a tithe or tenth of the annual increase of his farm stock and produce, or of the profits of his business, and, in addition, had given to the parson of St. Peter's his offerings at the major Church Festivals and had paid the fees for all the necessary services, such as "night-wakes," burials and baptisms. At times, he had been allowed to pay a fixed sum of money in lieu of the tithes for which he might be liable. When Whalley Abbey was dissolved in 1547, the Archbishop of Canterbury became the Rector of Whalley Parish and all tithes would thenceforward have to be paid to him.

It is not certain how long such a system continued after 1547 but the existence of "The Tithe Barn" near Rowley suggests that tithes were paid in kind for many years.⁽³²⁾ It is known, however, that from 1616 onwards for many years, Burnley parishioners paid fixed sums of money instead of their tithes in kind:—⁽³³⁾

For each lamb, foal, calf, or swarm of bees	½d.
For each cow	1d.
For each plough	1d.
For each sheep, sold after February 2nd	½d.
For each communicant	1d.
For each household	4½d.
For each household in certain parts of Burnley	3½d.
For each married couple residing with another household	3½d.
Sacrament Bread bought by households in rota	1½d.

In 1650 these tithes⁽³⁴⁾ were of great value and formed a large part of the income of the Church. The tithes of Burnley and Habergham Eaves were worth £30 a year to which

32. The tithe barn near Rowley was situated on glebe land belonging to the Rectory; it may be a local name indicating a farm built on Church land.

33. Wallis—Hist. of Ch. pp. 33-34.
34. Lanes. Ch. Surveys I 162.

must be added the tithe of the cornmill; Briercliffe and Extwistle, £15/13/4; Worsthorpe and Hurstwood, £6; Cliviger, £6/13/4; New Laund, Reedley Hallows, £6/13/0 with Hay tithes and Easter dues of 13/-; Ightenhill Park, £3/4/0 with Hay tithes and Easter offerings of 6/8.

The above payments were made to the Rector of Whalley until 1663, when Archbishop Juxon granted them to the parson of St. Peter's with the condition that he should make an annual contribution to the salary of the Vicar of Whalley.⁽³⁵⁾ The contribution that Mr. Kippax made for this purpose amounted to £3/18/4.

These dues, or "Easter Dues" as they were called, were regularly collected from the parishioners until well after 1850, when it became practically impossible to enforce them owing to the increase of population. In 1831, the arrears from Habergham Eaves, Cliviger and part of Burnley (Burnley Lane, Lane Bridge, the Meadows, and Westgate) amounted to £6/9/2 and there were some 205 defaulters. The majority of non-payers owed 4½d., many defaulted for 9d. and a considerable number owed sums over 1/-; the largest debt was 3/- owed by Henry Hargreaves of Wholaw. Three people were summoned for non-payment of tithes:—Peggy Dean of "The Stone Room," for 1/3, James Smith of Thorneybank, for 1/1½, and John Chadwick of Holmes Chapel for 1/1½. The defaulters included thirteen from Burnley Lane, 31 from Lane Bridge, one from South Parade (Manchester Road), fourteen from Thorneybank, four from Healey Wood, five from the Meadows, one from Westgate, eight from Cheapside, five from Lowerhouse, one from Rose Grove, seven from Gannow and Gannow Lane, seven from Sandygate, four from Treacle Row (Coal Clough Lane), one from "Archer Clough," six from Four Lane Ends, four from Back Lane, two from the Bull and Butcher, and eleven from the Old Turnpike (Bacup Road starting opposite the Bull and Butcher).⁽³⁶⁾

In 1850, out of 2757 householders who owed Easter dues to the incumbent of St. Peter's, there were only 801 who fulfilled their obligations; in 1851, 808 out of 2763 families paid their church dues. The tithes from Little Marsden were apparently divided between Colne Church and Burnley Church: Burnley claimed "the small tithes" (dues on increase of farm stock) which amounted to £5/19/4 in 1850 and £5/5/1 in 1851.⁽³⁷⁾

35. Wallis—Hist. of Ch. p. 35.

36. Copy of tithe returns in poss. of writer.

37. Ibid.

ENDOWMENTS. (38)

- I. In 1695, Nicholas Townley of Royle granted Cockridge Farm, in Thursden Valley at the foot of Boulsworth, jointly to the Church and the Grammar School. The farm is now derelict and its $34\frac{1}{2}$ acres are leased for a nominal sum to a neighbouring farmer. In 1717, the rent was £2/7/6 of which half was paid to Mr. Kippax.
- II. In 1697, Edmund Townley of Royle gave to the Church, for the increase of the salary of the incumbent, a farm, two barns, and two closes of land called "The Holme" and "The Bank" containing a little over two acres situated on Broadhead Moor. Edmund Townley purchased the property from John Slater, innkeeper, of Burnley for £78.
- III. In 1716, two important grants were made by Edmund Townley. In the first case, he paid a little over £100 for a house occupied by John Holt, a house called "The Cock-pit," a shop, cellar, etc., and a close of land in Burnley Lane containing $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, all of which he presented to the Church for the increase of the salary of the incumbent. With the same object, he gave £200, to which a further £200 was added by the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, and with the whole £400, Huffling Hall was purchased and granted to "the use and behalf of Richard Kippax, curate, and his successors."
- IV. By this will, dated 1729, Edmund Townley left a considerable sum of money to be spent by his executor, John Haydock of Heasandford, on the purchase of more land for the benefit of the parson of St. Peter's. At first, a farm in Newchurch was purchased and then the greater part of the bequest was used in the purchase of Bankhouse.
- V. A farm, cottage and land containing 21 acres in Barrowford and another farm and land with 21 acres in Higham were also purchased. These were probably acquired in 1726 with £200 from Edmund Townley and £200 from Queen Anne's Bounty.
- VI. The most valuable grant in view of its future development was that of Bankhouse with 21 acres, which was bought for £750 from Charles Halstead of Rowley with money bequeathed by Edmund Townley. Bankhouse served as the Parsonage for many years until Mr. Robert Mosley Master made his home at Royle. The "Old Parsonage" on Burnley Green was leased out to a

tenant and in 1800 was valued at £12/11/8 a year; the house was worth £60 as a building and had a plantation, a holme on the river bank, an orchard and a "Factory Garden" near the "Dandy Shop" in Massey Street.⁽³⁹⁾

The Reverend Edmund Townley was very anxious to secure the advowson of Burnley Church for himself and his family. For that purpose he offered in 1716 to give to the Church over £200 (to which the Governors of Queen's Bounty were to give a further £200) if he were granted the advowson. The Bishop of London appointed a commission, including Piers Starkie, Rev. Mr. Matthews, Thomas Townley of Royle, Robert Parker, and Dr. Henry Halstead, to enquire into Edmund Townley's estate; the report of the commission was possibly unfavourable, but he made a gift of a further £200 and so secured his wish. In his will, he gave "clear and absolute title to the advowson and perpetual right of presentation to the Curacy of the Chapel of Burnley" to his nephew Thomas Townley of Royle and his male heirs; if no son of that house were "capable of the place," it was to pass to the Haydocks of Heasandford, and if there should be no son of that family, it should pass to the Halsteads of Rowley.

Actually, the advowson was exercised by his great-nephew Thomas Townley, who presented the Rev. Turner Standish to the Curacy of St. Peter's in 1744. Thomas Townley died in 1770, and from him the advowson eventually passed to his grand-son, Robert Townley Parker, M.P. for Preston, who in 1855 appointed his son, Arthur Townley Parker, to St. Peter's. Canon Arthur Townley Parker inherited the advowson and by The Burnley Rectory Act surrendered his rights to the Bishop of Manchester.

RECTORY LAND IN BURNLEY.

The land in Burnley that belonged to Whalley Abbey fell into the hands of the king when the Abbey was dissolved and the abbot, who was the Rector of Whalley Parish, was dismissed. It was leased out to various persons until 1547 when it was granted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the new Rector of Whalley. He made leases of it to the Asshetons of Downham from 1584 to 1716 and afterwards until 1799 to Assheton's two sons-in-law, Sir Nathaniel Curzon and Thomas Lister. Eventually in 1799, the Archbishop sold the Burnley land to the Curzon family. The lands were valued in 1794 at £102/18/0 a year and the tithes of Burnley, Ilabergham Eaves, Ilapton, Cliviger, and Worsthorpe at £200, and the tithes of Briercliffe and Extwistle at £32.⁽⁴⁰⁾ There were about 60 acres in Burnley belonging to the ancient Rectory. They were

39. Rate Book 1800.

40. Wallis—Hist. of Ch. p. 38.

situated in Briercliffe Road (17 acres), near Barden Lane Top (10 acres), Cottam Laithe in Ormerod Road (15 acres), Walkerholme, probably near Church Street (6 acres), and on Brunshaw (7 acres).⁽⁴¹⁾

OFFICIALS OF THE CHURCH.

1. Church Wardens. There were usually four churchwardens appointed each year, one from each of the four "quarters" of the parish, Burnley, Habergham Eaves, Briercliffe and Cliviger. They were generally drawn from the upper and middle classes and were representative of landowners and tradesmen. Before entering on their year of office, they and the sidesmen went on the "visitation," i.e. they went to the Quarter Sessions Court at Blackburn to take their oaths; the first Sunday after their appointment was celebrated, at the end of the 18th century, by a visit to some hostelry at the town's expense.

Wardens not only looked after the interests of the Church but they were also responsible for the government of the township. They had to see that all necessary repairs to fabric of the Church were carried out, that divine services were regularly held and conducted according to national regulations, that the Sabbath was duly observed, and that the moral well-being and condition of the parishioners was satisfactory; finally, with the overseers and the surveyor they had to see to the relief of paupers and the progress of the town.

The rates that were necessary to carry out these repairs and reforms were known as "Church Lays" and naturally varied according to the cost of the improvements that were contemplated or had already been carried out. In 1735, 15 Church Lays were levied so that Burnley paid £4.16.0, Briercliffe £9, Cliviger £7, and Habergham Eaves £6.8.0; in 1749 and 1750, Burnley paid £15, Briercliffe £22.10.0., Cliviger £17.10.0., and Habergham Eaves £20.

2. The Parish Clerk.

John Wilson 1588.

Thomas Riley 1602-1607.

John Bruer 1618-1635.

Benjamin Welsh 1635-1639.

James Walmesley 1646-1683.

Richard Etough 1683-1692.

Benjamin Robertshaw 1692-1710.

James Harrison 1727, 1748 and 1750.

John Anderton 1729.

James Knight 1749.

41. Rate Book 1800.

The parish clerk was appointed by the parson with the sanction of the Bishop but his salary was paid out of parish funds. His main duty was to attend divine services and sing the responses; when the three-decker pulpit was installed, he occupied the lowest section. He added to his salary by keeping the Church registers and the churchwardens' accounts and by performing any other paid duty that might be allotted to him. In 1729, the clerk's wages amounted to 10s., but in 1739, the sexton was ordered to pay the clerk 9d. for every interment "for the better augmentation of his salary"; by 1748, the clerk's wages were 16s. a year, to which he added 8s. for washing the surplices and 4s. for registering the accounts. In 1778, "The clerk's salary, etc." was £3.5.6.; the "etc." probably included his fees for keeping the registers and the accounts. The parish clerks had naturally other sources of income: John Bruer was an innkeeper, James Walmesley was a linen weaver, Richard Etough was a plasterer and Benjamin Robertshaw was the headmaster of the Grammar School. Benjamin Welsh was probably the son of Edward Welsh, the Puritan Vicar of Blackburn, who, at one time, refused to wear the surplice, and later, in 1605, was deprived of his benefice for refusing to accept some of the Church canons; the son, Benjamin, went to live at Bolton and came to live at Burnley in 1642.⁴² He was appointed parish clerk under Roger Brearley, the Puritan pastor of Burnley.

3. The Sexton.

James Burgoyne 1657-1659.

John Clayton 1681-1683.

Henry Broxup 1722.

John Parker, Sen. 1740-1742.

John Parker, Jun. 1742.

Before 1638, the burial fees were 1s. 8d. in the nave or in the chancel and apparently there was no fee for an interment in the churchyard; in 1638, the fees were increased to 6s. 8d. for a burial in the nave and 10s. in the chancel. In 1702, the fee for a burial in the churchyard of a man or woman from Pendle or Ightenhill Park was fixed at 2s. 7d. and for a child at 2s. 2d. The charges were again revised in 1739 when the churchwardens agreed "that there shall be paid sixpence for every grave in the Churchyard and one shilling in the Church" and at the same meeting it was decided that "there shall be paid unto the Saxton sixpence for carrying the Bier to every person that dies."

42. Waddington Papers.

The salary of the sexton was 11s. a year in 1727 and for this sum he had to sweep the Church and perform "such other offices as has been formerly done by the Saxton." The "other offices" could only be the digging of graves because he was paid for any extra duty and he received a bonus for sweeping the Church after workmen had carried out repairs and even for sweeping out the rushes after the rush-bearing ceremony. He must also have charged his own fee for burials, but, unfortunately for him, the Vestry Meeting decided in 1736 that "the Sexton shall pay unto the Clerk, for the better Augmentation of his Sallary, for every Funeral the sum of ninepence." By 1779, the sexton's salary had been fixed at £1.17.6. a year.

In 1702, the churchwardens agreed to allow the sexton a new coat every two years but he had to keep it in the Church and wear it only on Sundays and Holy Days. A few years later, he was allowed a new coat every year and there was no stipulation about where he was to keep or when he was to wear the official dress. The material for the coat usually cost a little over 30s. and the making 3s. 6d.; in addition, he was given a waistcoat and occasionally a pair of shoes.

4. Musicians. The earliest record of music in St. Peter's occurs in 1775 and 1776 when John Crossley was paid £1.1.0 in each year for "Music for Church." No further reference is made until 1803 when a "new" organ was placed in the Church; the term "new" suggests that there had been an earlier instrument of some kind. This organ was made at Liverpool and Mr. John Collinge agreed to fetch it at his own cost. In 1835, the churchwardens asked for public subscriptions to purchase another new organ and gave incentives to subscribers by promising that those who gave £3 or over should have the privilege of appointing the organist. On April 18th, 1837, Mr. Charles Morine was appointed the new organist and for his salary was allocated the interest on the money invested in the Edenfield Turnpike Trust and the proceeds of an annual collection made after morning service on one Sunday in the month of June; in addition, he was to be allowed "to augment his salary by instructing singers and finding music books for the organ and choir." The singers and the organ blower were to have the proceeds of a collection made at the end of one evening service.⁴³

5. Bell-ringers. A peal of four bells existed at St. Peter's in 1702. The total weight of the bells was a little over 37½ cwts. the largest weighing nearly 19 cwts. and the smallest

43. Churchwardens' Accnts.

about 7 cwts. Another bell was hung in 1749 but probably it was one of the old bells that had been re-cast. They were sold in 1803 for a little over £250 and were replaced by eight bells (weighing 72 cwts.) made by Mears of London.

In the 18th century, bell-ringers were paid at the rate of 11s. each a year and for that they had to ring on Sundays and on Christmas Days; the last peal on a Sunday had to continue at least 15 minutes. When the bells were rung on days of national rejoicing, the singers refreshed themselves at the town's expense at some local inn and this was their only payment for services rendered. The "passing bell" was tolled for 6d. an hour, and the sexton tolled the curfew every evening at 8 o'clock for 8s. a year. A note in the churchwardens' accounts to "William Kenyon's curios ringing, 2s." may refer to visitors who came to ring a new peal.

In 1803 when the present peal of bells was hung, rules for the bell-ringers were made:⁴⁴—a fine of 6d. payable to the churchwardens was imposed on a ringer who was late for duty; a fine of 3d. was levied for committing any one of the following offences,—ringing with the spurs on, absence from practice, swearing or telling a lie in the steeple, coming into the steeple intoxicated, divulging anything out of the steeple which might tend to produce mischief, overthrowing a bell, and ringing with the hat on.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

In spite of the bitter attitude of the Puritans to the Roman Catholic religion during the Commonwealth, the Recusancy Laws were abolished and Roman Catholics were no longer fined for non-attendance at their local Protestant Church. The Penal Laws however still remained and Roman Catholics had no legal right to worship as they wished. Charles II, a Catholic at heart, attempted to give toleration to both Catholics and Protestant Dissenters, but Parliament objected to this show of royal arbitrary power and the King's aim was not realised. Catholic hopes revived during the later years of Charles II and continued through the reign of James II, who was an open adherent of the Roman Catholic Church. James, however, made fatal mistakes in his efforts to coerce the Protestant Parliament and other powerful sections, and he was therefore driven from the English throne in favour of William, the Dutch Protestant leader, and Mary, the daughter of James.

Under the rule of William and Mary, the famous Toleration Act of 1689 was passed which allowed to Protestant

44. Wilkinson—Hist. of Ch.

nonconformists the right to build chapels and worship as they thought right. The Roman Catholic religion, however, was not officially recognised, but their "worship in private houses was hardly ever interfered with, public chapels were erected and priests often went about openly in spite of the laws." Roman Catholics and Dissenters still suffered in other ways, for they were not allowed to become Members of Parliament nor enter a university; the priest might not wear his clerical dress in public. The Penal Laws against the Roman Catholics were only rigidly enforced in times of Jacobite insurrections, and as the spirit of toleration grew during the 18th century, more and more freedom was allowed to the Roman Catholics. By 1778, the priest was permitted to wear his clerical attire in public.

Towneley Hall was the headquarters of Roman Catholicism not only for Burnley and district but at times for Lancashire, and services were regularly held in the Towneley Hall Chapel until Burnley Wood Catholic Church was opened in 1817. Tradition has it that the priest dressed as a head gardener or some other civil official of the Towneley household and that he was never publicly addressed by his clerical title; tradition also tells us that the south-west part of the kitchen garden was known as "The Chapel Lea" and that it was kept as a flower garden redolent with old fashioned flowers and herbs where "many a priest found his last resting place."⁴⁵

The register of St. Peter's records the births of children of Roman Catholics,⁴⁶ e.g. "1663, Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Saville of Copley, Baronet, born at Towneley," "Nov. 22, 1687, Charles, the son of Charles Towneley of Towneley, Gentleman, born there as I was informed by Charles Wilkinson⁽⁴⁷⁾ of the same place." The names of Roman Catholics buried at St. Peter's are recorded from 1727 onward. They number 79 between 1727 and 1755 and includes families named Appleton, Bradshaw, Corlass, Hall (4), Halstead, Hargreaves, Hitchon, Lee (5) of Filly Close and Burnley Lane Head, Sagar (3) of Hurstwood and Pendle, Slater (3) of Towneley Park, Smith (4), Stell (2), Stuttard (2), Sutcliffe, Tattersall, Taylor (3), Walker (2) of Dyneley, Whittaker (3), Whittam (4) of Worsthorne, and Wilson (2). One man named Lawrence

45. Aspinall—B'ley Gazette Mch. II 1899.

46. By Act of P., the clergy were ordered to add to their registers any records of those births (apart from baptisms) and of those burials with which they became acquainted; parents had to give notice to the minister within five days of the birth of a child.

47. See p.

Ingham is recorded as “turned Papist.” In 1719, Richard Kippax, the incumbent of St. Peter’s, certified that there were about 120 Papists in his parish: in 1769 there were 118 “known Papists” in Burnley and 14 in Padiham.

The following priests served at Towneley during this period:⁴⁸

William Richmond	-1625.	
Peter Giffard	1661-1689.	Died at Towneley.
John Howse ⁴⁹	1689?-1704.	Buried at St. Peter’s.
Thomas Anderton	1705-1741.	Buried at St. Peter’s.
George Kendal	-1744.	
John Harrison	1746-1777.	
Thomas Caton	1785-1811.	
Louis Merlin	1811-1819.	Buried at St. Peter’s.

William Richmond was trained abroad as a Roman Catholic priest and came back to England in 1581. He was captured and imprisoned at York, with many other leading Catholics. He managed to escape and spent the remainder of his life at Towneley, where he wrote an account of the sufferings endured by his co-religionists in their prison. Peter Giffard became the chaplain to the Towneley family in 1661. He was made Secretary to the Lancashire Infirm Clergy Fund, which had for its object the collection of food and money with which to relieve Roman Catholic prisoners. In 1682, he was elected Vicar General of the North and Towneley therefore became a most important Roman Catholic centre. During Giffard’s ministry, Bishop Leybourne, who had been welcomed to England by James II and granted a pension of £1,000 a year by the king, visited Towneley and confirmed some 203 people there. Thomas Anderton was the Towneley priest during the troubled times of the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 and he himself was convicted as a recusant on the information of John Haydock:—“One Anderton, a reputed Popish priest at Towneley.” Three other men from Burnley Parish, Robert Walker of Dyneley, Matthew Hall of Burnley and William Whittam probably of Worsthorpe were convicted on the same charge at the Lancaster Sessions in 1716. (They had all been married at Towneley and were buried at St. Peter’s). Anderton baptised in the Towneley Chapel 89 children between 1706 and 1727 and officiated at 18 marriages during the same period. His notebook which is still in existence at Towneley Hall shows that masses were sung almost daily except for one short period during which he was possibly in hiding; Masses were sung daily for Richard Towneley during the critical time of his trial in 1716, and many others were

48. Blundell—Old Catholic Lanes. pp. 28-29.

sung for Mary Towneley. Masses were performed also for King James III (The Old Pretender), for Roman Catholic prisoners, for Roman Catholic soldiers, for the deliverance of captives, for Roman Catholic missionaries, and for "my brother." Anderton's pay while at Towneley was £20 a year. He was made Archdeacon of Lancashire in 1732, and this office was held by his successor at Towneley, George Kendal. Little is known of the work done at Towneley by other priests during the remainder of the 18th century. There were 39 men and women confirmed in 1774 and 25 in 1784. Louis Merlin was a French priest, driven from his native land by the Revolution; he finally obtained refuge at Towneley where he died; his tombstone at St. Peter's was inscribed with the following:—"There rests here, dear to God and the poor, Rev. Louis Merlin who, an exile from his home in France, first in Scotland, then in England, gave himself to works of piety and charity: at length, broken down by his arduous labours, he died at Towneley, Dec. 12, 1819, in his 55th year."

NONCONFORMISTS.

Something has already been recorded of the struggles of those who considered that the doctrines, ceremonies and government of the Established Church obscured the essential nature of the relationship between God and man. Thomas Jolly of Altham and Wymondhouse and Charles Sagar of Ightenhill and Darwen are perhaps the best known of those local Puritan idealists, but the courage of Robert Whittaker, who had his house at Healey licensed as a "preaching place" should not be forgotten. We should also remember the eight Burnley men and women who met for worship at the house of George Hargreaves⁽⁴⁹⁾ before toleration for Dissenters was granted. This meeting place was well known and its owner was punished in 1681 by a fine of £20 "levied on his goods" while the worshippers were fined 5s. each; one of these dissenters, Anne Bruer, was nicknamed "Godly." Isaac Ashton of Clitheroe was one of the preachers at this local chapel. Possibly a near relative of George Hargreaves was John Hargreaves who preached in 1670 at Holme Church and elsewhere though he was not licensed to do so; he was described as a "pretended preacher" which suggests a "dissenting minister."⁽⁵⁰⁾ John Hargreaves practised as a surgeon in Burnley 1662—1691.⁽⁵¹⁾ When toleration was granted, Christopher Lee of Burnley in 1700 successfully petitioned for his house to be recognised as a "Dissenters' Meeting Place."⁽⁵²⁾

49. George Hargreaves was at one time "of Pendle."

50. Wallis—History of Ch. p. 58.

51. Clergy List 1691.

52. County R.O. OSP. 855-4.

Unfortunately, no further records of local non-conformist enthusiasm appear until 1719 when Parson Kippax of St. Peter's certified that there were in his parish 60 Dissenters, 50 Quakers, and 4 Independents. The Dissenters were those who had their own religious meetings and had no set creed except a belief in God which was based on their own interpretation of the Scriptures; the Independents were those who believed that every congregation formed a church or independent religious society in itself, and were probably the earliest Congregationalists in our district.

The Quaker meeting house at Fold's House (Ecroyds), Briercliffe, was probably begun soon after the visit of George Fox to this district in 1652; it has a burial ground with four graves, one of which is the resting place of Elizabeth, wife of John Vipon, farm labourer of Briercliffe, and bears the date 1681. The Quakers soon encountered opposition for it was reported⁽⁵³⁾ in 1656 that "Several Friends at the burying of the child of John Sagar of Marsden were assaulted and beaten with a hedge stake by one Edward Kippax, who in his fury said he would kill the first of them he met" and "John Liddel of Marsden, as he passed along the road, was struck down with a shearing instrument by a boisterous ruffian that met him." Another Quaker meeting house existed in what is now a cottage on Marsden Heights and here there are three graves. Possibly this existed at the the same time as "Ecroyds" but it cannot have had a very long life as a religious centre for from 1656 the Quaker burial ground was in Halifax Road, Brierfield, and remained so until 1731.

In face of the direct evidence given in 1719 by Mr. Kippax and the records of the existence of "preaching places" at Healey Hall and in one other house in Burnley in 1700, it is difficult to understand the statement made in the 1724 petition to the Bishop of Chester,—“though sectaries swarm in the neighbouring chapelries, they have not hitherto been able to get a footing in our parish.” The petition does agree, however, that “two conventicles are got licensed within our chapelry since the death of our late curate” (Mr. Kippax in 1723).

The foundation of chapels in which Baptists and Methodists and Congregationalists worshipped according to their respective beliefs is just outside the scope of this chapter. At the same time, it should be noted that famous preachers

53. An Abstract of the Sufferings of the Quakers (pub. 1733) p. 143.

had already appeared in the neighbourhood.⁽⁵⁴⁾ John Nelson assisted Benjamin Ingham in 1742 in the foundation of his Inghamite Chapels; William Darney and William Grimshaw, the Haworth parson, prepared the way for Wesley; John Wesley himself visited Roughlee, Widdop and Shore in 1747 and preached at Burnley in 1784; a Methodist Society was possibly founded at Burnley early in 1763. The Baptists of Hill Lane, Briercliffe, held meetings in 1760 and appointed trustees for the building of their chapel in 1767. Prayer meetings that led to the foundation of Ebenezer were held in Burnley in 1778. This great religious revival, shown in the rise of nonconformist bodies, acted as a very potent force in destroying the moral and spiritual apathy that had been so prevalent in the first half of the 18th century.

SUMMARY.

This chapter has dealt with one of the unhappiest periods of religious life in Burnley. The fervour of a Roger Brearley, whose "soul-convincing" exposition of Christian truths had made men and women enthusiastic for good, and the stern principles of the Puritan Age, that abhorred frivolity and discountenanced almost every form of amusement, died away and were replaced in the 18th century by an apathy to religion that has rarely been equalled. The decline in religious sentiment was partly due to the toleration that was extended in the 18th century to all forms of worship. Whenever an intolerant king or parliament threatened to exterminate a particular faith, whether of Roman Catholics, Churchmen or Dissenters, men were found ready to suffer in defence of that faith; when the State virtually recognised the right of people to worship as they wished, it was no longer necessary to fight for a creed, and enthusiasm began to wane. The weakening of the influence of the Church was also partly due to the growth of materialism and the changed outlook of man's economic life. In the Mediæval, Tudor and early Stuart times, one lived a simple, intimate life, almost identical with that of a neighbour; in later times, life was complex, more competitive, more materialistic, since a larger number of people were struggling to exist and giving their whole time, thought and energy to the "battle of life." Unhappily, the authority of the Church, that was thus waning from almost "natural" causes, was still further weakened by the character of the clergy and church officials, whose actions were often guided by the hope of preferment and advantage rather than by the opportunities to do good. In St. Peter's in the 18th

54. Moore—Hist. of Meth. in B'ley.

century, some of the parsons held two or three livings, and were absentees from Burnley; even the Burnley-born William Halstead, whom many Burnley parishioners wanted as their own minister, was the parson of two churches and the headmaster of a Grammar School in Buckinghamshire.

St. Peter's seems to have functioned in the 18th century more as the headquarters for the government of the town than a centre of religious life. Attendance at Divine Service became a social formality rather than a religious duty and privilege. The Parish Accounts show the spending of money on bonfires, bell-ringing, ale-drinking, and repairs to the fabric of the Church but there is no mention at all of any voluntary gift from the parish to relieve distress among the many poor and sick; the Accounts of Sagar of Catlow, a prominent landowner, show frequent and large purchases of liquor, powder and shot, but not a single contribution to his Church, except the compulsory taxes. On the other hand, there must have been many individuals who were pious, unselfish, earnest Christian members of the Established Church, but unfortunately their names have not been recorded.

One interesting feature at St. Peter's was the rise to influence of the Townleys of Royle. In 1650, they were certainly important but a century later, they held the very important right to nominate the incumbent; this privilege was bought, to all intents and purposes, with the very generous gifts made to increase the salary of the incumbent of St. Peter's by the Rev. Edmund Townley.

The history of Roman Catholicism and Nonconformity in Burnley is somewhat similar to that of the Established Church. Roman Catholics were very zealous in times of persecution and on occasions when fortune seemed to favour them; their numbers, however, remained fairly constant when toleration was granted. Nonconformists also showed fine examples of courage in the Stuart period, the Age of intolerance; in early Hanoverian times their work lingered on. It required the religious fervour and organising ability of John Wesley and the challenge of evil to rouse once again the real spiritual life of Burnley Christians.

CHAPTER VI.

The Grammar School, 1650-1750.

The history of the Grammar School from 1650 to 1750, like that of St. Peter's Church, reflects the changing character of the times. Briefly, it falls into two periods divided by the 1688 Revolution; the earlier period is marked by disturbances caused by prolonged religious disputes and the later is characterised by an easy calm peace that verged on apathy.

The school had been established in 1559 as a Grammar School and had been endowed with lands given by private individuals. A little later, certain leading townsmen agreed to make annual gifts of money to increase the headmaster's salary. These promises were not always kept, but they apparently had the effect of giving the donors a right to share with the trustees of the endowments in the government of the school. As all the benefactors were naturally the leaders in the Church and therefore in parish affairs, the Grammar School soon began to fall under the control of the parish. It was "with the consent of the parishioners"⁽¹⁾ that in 1641 John Parker of Extwistle leased the school land that lay at the junction of Yorkshire Street and Church Street as well as the school fields in Colne Road. (The lease was granted to Robert Bruer for 31 years on condition that he built a house at the bottom of Yorkshire Street and paid to the governors of the school a rent of 20s. for five years and 23/4d. for 26 years. When the lease terminated in 1676, the house, later known as "The White House," became the property of the school governors and was used as the residence of the headmaster).⁽²⁾

Possibly the governors considered that the parish could legally undertake full responsibility for the school and its endowments, for when the last of the original governors' nominees, Robert Parker of Extwistle, died in 1634, it was found that he had not created any new governors according to the regulations of the school.⁽³⁾ The result was that the tenant of the Warmfield lands did not pay any rent for some years since there were no governors to pay it to;⁽⁴⁾ a lawsuit

1. School deeds.
2. School papers.

3. School deeds.
4. *Ibid.* and County R.O. DDN 61.

was the result and another John Parker of Extwistle, a Presbyterian preacher, was allowed by the Duchy court to assume responsibility for the government of the school and the appointment of other co-trustees.⁽⁵⁾

John Parker naturally co-opted the Presbyterian Thomas Barcroft of Barcroft and Protestants, Nicholas Townley of Royle, John Towneley of Hurstwood, John Halstead of Rowley and George Halstead of Bankhouse. Of the 16th century families that had previously taken a share in the government of the school, the Catholic Woodruffs (now represented by the Shireburns), the Townleys of Towneley, and the possibly Royalist Haydocks of Heasandford, were no longer mentioned, while the Haberghams had fallen on evil days. The new governors broke the Roman Catholic tradition that had been so prominent up to 1625 under Yates and Whittaker.⁽⁶⁾

A most important incident⁽⁷⁾ occurred at some time between 1675 and 1688, probably in 1678, when the governors appointed Mr. Butterworth to succeed Mr. Robinson as headmaster. This was the period when Roman Catholics had hopes of permanent relief from all their disabilities. The Roman Catholic Richard Towneley of Towneley wished the governors to appoint another person and when they refused, he ordered a padlock to be put on the door of the building in which the school was held. The governors broke the padlock and ordered the school to continue. They were therefore summoned for trespass before the Duchy Court. From the evidence given at the trial, it appeared that the school was held in the top floor of a two storeyed building in the churchyard and that the only access to the school-room was through the ground-floor room which was inhabited by a family who paid rent to Towneley for its use. Richard Towneley's plea was that "his great-grandfather about the year 1602, being seized of certain . . . lands adjoining the churchyard of Burnley erected a messuage or dwelling house upon it towards the erection whereof several of the inhabitants within Burnley parish did lead several materials (stone and timber) then desiring that the upper room in the messuage might be used for a school, but that all the messuage was erected at the sole and proper charge of John Towneley and that the lower rooms had ever since been enjoyed and occupied by Mr. Towneley and his heirs"; he also claimed that "his ancestors and he have had passage by inner doors out of the lower rooms into

5. Arrangement made after official enquiry: School deeds.

6. Part II pp. 139, 144, 146.
7. School papers.

the said school without interruption at their pleasure and so unity of possession hath still continued though no rent was paid for the school since the erection thereof."

The case for the governors was based on the following arguments:—(1) Mr. Parker and Mr. Halstead "were elected and chosen governors of the school and were by the former governors at a meeting of the chief of the parish put into possession of the school and the key delivered to them." (2) "In the vacancies of Christmas, Easter and the like the schoolmaster lodged the key of the school door with one of them as governors the day they departed and fetched it again the day the school begun." (3) "At the death of the schoolmaster, Mr. Aspden, the key of the school door was brought to one of them and afterwards, the governors with the approbation of the gentlemen of the parish introduced one Mr. Stansfield." (4) "When those that surveyed" the Towneley estates in 1646 "to the intent all the estate should be sold they then found this schoolhouse not to appertain to him (Towneley) but to the use of a Free School for ever." (5) "Mr. Towneley had or might have had £16/13/4d. collected through the parish towards defraying the charge of building (the schoolhouse) and £5 more from Mr. Barcroft of London Bridge." (6) "Mr. Townley had never claimed this schoolhouse till now."

The lawsuit was heard in 1683 and though no record of the court's decision is available, it is clear from the fact that a new school was erected in 1693 that Towneley won his case. Between 1683 and 1693 the school was probably held in a building on the Bankhouse estate near the bottom of Bridge Street.⁽⁸⁾

The new school of 1693 was built on land given by Robert Parker of Extwistle and stood near to "Brown Hill," almost at the top of School Lane. It was of stone and had a library and one classroom upstairs and one large classroom on the ground floor; the latter measured 30-ft. x 18-ft., and was 9½-ft. high.⁽⁹⁾ There was a porchway with heavy-studded entrance door in the middle of the front of the building. The Rev. Edmund Townley of Royle and the Rev. Henry Halstead of Bankhouse, both old boys of the school, bore the cost of building a wall to enclose the school premises from the field in which it had been built. The wall was rebuilt in 1729 at the cost of the parish.⁽¹⁰⁾

8. Old Estate map; "School in decay" (rental 1700).

9. Charity Com. Rep.
10. School papers.

During the 18th century, the school became more than ever the responsibility of the parish and the churchwardens' accounts show frequent repairs to the fabric at the town's expense. Only a few of these records can here be presented:—

		£	s.	d.
1729.	Paid for plastering and pointing the school		5	6
	„ Jenet Broxup for getting moss		1	6
	„ Wm. Stanworth for mossing school		4	6
	„ Anne Driver for dressing (cleaning)			
	school after plasterers			8
	„ for glazing Church and school		13	9
	„ cutting wall stones for school		1	6
	„ getting wall stones for school		2	8
	„ Rd. Schofield for leading stones		5	0
	„ walling the wall		4	6
	„ for load of lime for school		2	0
1730.	„ Rd. Whittaker for key for school and			
	staple and lock mending		1	5
1734.	„ for mossing and pointing the school		5	0
1742.	„ for moss for church and school		2	0
1759.	„ Stanworth for flags for schoolhouse		13	0
	„ Wilkinson for flagging the schoolhouse	1	13	0
	„ for leading flags and gravel to school-			
	house		16	0
	„ for filling gravel		4	0
	„ James Wood for work at schoolhouse		11	6
	„ John Wilkinson for work at school		6	6
	„ Christopher Sharp for work done at			
	school		16	4

In 1766, the parish undertook to bear the cost of a legal action to recover arrears of rent from the tenants of Alfrethes in the County of Essex, the estate which had been given to the Grammar School in 1578 by John Ingham.

GOVERNORS.

It has already been stated under what conditions new governors were appointed in 1645 to administer the endowments of the school. From that time until 1872, the existing governors co-opted others to take the places of those who had died. During the 17th and 18th centuries, much of their authority was expressed through the Parish Meeting for it was that body that found the money to pay for necessary repairs to the fabric of the school; the governors themselves

were responsible for the appointment of headmasters and the administration of the endowments from which they paid the headmaster's salary.

The following were the governors during the period 1650-1750:—

- 1645. Nicholas Townley of Royle, John Parker of Extwistle, Thomas Barcroft of Barcroft, John Towneley of Hurstwood, John Halstead of Rowley, and George Halstead of Bankhouse.
- 1673. John Parker of Extwistle and George Halstead of Bankhouse.
- 1700. Rev. Edmund Townley of Royle, Rev. Henry Halstead of Bankhouse, Robert Parker of Extwistle, and Thomas Townley of Royle.
- 1730. Thomas Townley, Sen., of Royle, Thomas Townley, Jun., of Royle, Charles Halstead of Rowley, and Banister Parker of Cuerden and Extwistle.
- 1752. Thomas Townley of Royle, Edmund Townley of Royle, Robert Parker of Cuerden and Extwistle, Charles Halstead, of Rowley, and Rev. Turner Standish, Incumbent of St. Peter's.

Of these governors, the most important were the Rev. Edmund Townley of Royle, Vicar of Slaidburn, and the Rev. Henry Halstead, of Bankhouse, both of whom made valuable gifts to the school. A portrait in oils of the Rev. Henry Halstead, painted by Kneller, hangs in the school at the present time.

ENDOWMENTS.

Robert Parker presented the site of the new school in 1693. Two years later, Nicholas Townley of Royle, elder brother of Rev. Edmund Townley, gave to the school and to St. Peter's equal shares in Cockridge Farm, situated in Thursden Valley at the foot of Boulsworth. According to a return of school property in 1702, the annual value to the school was £2/16/3d., but Mr. Kippax, Parson of St. Peter's, in 1719 certified that the annual value to the Church was £1/3/9d. The Rev. Edmund Townley in 1696 presented Ackerley's Farm or the Ridge Farm, which had an annual value of £6/7/6d.

The endowments of the Grammar School were listed in 1702 in the church register by Mr. Robertshaw, parish clerk and headmaster.

“ Rents belonging to Burnley School, 1702.

	£	s.	d.
From Alfrethes Farm in Essex (Ingham 1577)	3	0	0
From Wakefield (Sagar 1559)	3	6	8
From Dalton (Towneley 1586)		9	0
From Barnoldswick (Woodruff 1559)		3	4
From Foulridge (Habergham 1559)		10	0
Tarletons in Burnley (Wilkinson 1559 and En- closure 1617)		4	15 0
Ackerley's Tenement (Ed. Townley 1696)		6	7 6
Half of Cockridge (Nicholas Townley 1695)		2	16 3
	£21	7	9."

(In the above list, the names and dates of donors have been inserted by the present writer).

FEES.

It is difficult to determine what fees were charged at the school since the only available information is to be found in Mr. Robershaw's diary, which, unfortunately, does not give all the essential details. "Mr. Horrock's son's learning 5/0d.," "Mr. Shuttleworth's son £1/5/0d.," "Mr. Townley of Carrs tolls and learning £1/0/0d.," "Sagar's son 2/6d.," are typical entries. From two accounts we may perhaps hazard a guess at the fees: William Holt entered the school on August 1st, 1710, and his brother James on May 25th, 1711, and both left in 1717 so that approximately 13 years in all were completed: as £6/10/0d. was the total sum paid by the father, the annual fee seems to have been about 10/0d. If writing lessons were taken, an extra 2/6d. was charged and of this sum 2/0d. was the payment to the scrivener or writing master and 6d. was the perquisite of the headmaster.

HEADMASTERS.

THOMAS ASPDEN 1629-1667.

Little is known about Mr. Thomas Aspden. During his long service at the Grammar School, he must have witnessed some of the most important events in English history, but we have no record of his attitude to the great political and religious changes of the time. He sent two of his sons to Cambridge University and was buried at St. Peter's Church on March 7th, 1667, and was there recorded as "of Burnley, Schoolmaster."

ABRAM STANSFIELD 1667-1669.

He was buried at St. Peter's on Jan. 30th, 1669.

——— PLACE 1669.

He was "removed by the Governors."

JOHN ROBINSON 1669-1678.

Mr. Robinson seems to have been connected with a local family which was possibly the Robinson family of Old Laund and Hawkshouse; the registers of St. Peter's record the baptism on May 2nd, 1648, of "Ellen, daughter of John Robinson, Schoolmaster at Preston." While Mr. Robinson was at Preston, his political and religious views were not acceptable to one of the town's bailiffs, who refused to pay part of the salary due to the headmaster "to the great affront of the Corporation."⁽¹²⁾

——— BUTTERWORTH 1678-1684.

The appointment of Mr. Butterworth as headmaster seems to have caused the quarrel between the Towneley family and the governors of the school.

JAMES MERCER 1684-1698.

Mr. Mercer was appointed headmaster on June 10th, 1684. His religious and political opinions coincided with those of Mr. Charles Towneley and it is almost certain that his appointment was due to Mr. Towneley's influence over the parish during those troublous times. In the disturbance of 1685, Mr. Mercer was reported to the Justices for an assault upon the constable, and, despite the apology he made to the constable at the house of Nicholas Townley of Royle, he was ordered to appear before the Court of Quarter Sessions. The charge was dropped when the constable himself was taken into custody and tried before the Court of Assize at Lancaster. The whole affair was biassed by religious and political considerations.⁽¹³⁾

BENJAMIN ROBERTSHAW 1698-1728.

Much has already been said about the multifarious pursuits, humour and kindness of Mr. Robertshaw. As a headmaster, he added to his income by taking school-boarders.

12. Fishwick—Hist. of Preston.

13. See p. 43.

Here are some of the details concerning one of his boarders:—

Feb. 24 I paid for him his Cockpenny and fire making. 6d.

Mar. 27 I paid for paper, 1d.

Mar. 30 I paid for coal, 3d.

April 23 I paid for his shoe mending, 6d.

I paid for 2 shirts, 3/9d., the lad, 1d., making (of the shirts), 2d., in all, 4/0d.

June 8 I paid for his shoes mending, 1/0d.

The following references in Mr. Robertshaw's diary may give us a clue to the origin of two pieces of Jacobean furniture which now stand in the school:—"Goods that are mine 1711: Ark in the School chamber, a desk and old boards in the School."

The headmaster's epitaph in St. Peter's is composed in a style typical of the 18th century:—

"Here lies Benjamin Robertshaw, for thirty years Master of Burnley School, who in honesty of teaching and character, second to none, is likely to have few to rival him, fewer still to equal him. To no one did he give just grounds for reproach, but enduring either fortune with even mind, he lived in hope and believed through faith and he rested in death on the 28th December, 1728, aged 71."

ELLIS NUTTER 1728-1761.

Mr. Ellis Nutter was born at New Laund in 1707 and was descended from an old established family of Pendle Forest. His ancestors had been deputy stewards of the Hundred of Blackburn in the reigns of Henry VIII and James I. He was educated at the Grammar School, but nothing of importance connected with his headmastership has survived. There is a tradition that he had fiery red hair and was known as "Red-locks." His tombstone in St. Peter's records that he was the Master of the Burnley Public Grammar School for 33 years, and that he died on April 14th, 1761, aged 54 years.

SCHOOL CUSTOMS.

In accordance with the character of the period, the Grammar School held an official cockfight and bonfire on Shrove Tuesdays. To defray expenses, each boy was charged 1d. on his school bill but the headmaster is reported to have claimed any cock that managed to escape. Most of the school "cockfights" in the 18th century were really "cock-

shies" in which the boys threw stones at the bird that had been trained by hard experience to dodge the missiles.⁽¹⁴⁾ The Shrove Tuesday celebration that ended with a bonfire was an annual event until 1795, when the school authorities abolished it as an official function.

Another custom of the School gave the boys the right to lock the headmaster out of the building on one morning in the year; afterwards, peace was restored by the grant of a holiday. Still another custom enabled the two senior boys of the school to bar the way to a bride and bridegroom as they came from St. Peter's Church; in this case, 2/6d. for the library and 6d. each for the two boys settled the right of way.

There is a tradition that the boys of the Grammar School once caused the Devil to appear in one of the classrooms by repeating the Lord's Prayer backwards. His Satanic Majesty did not get very far into the room, for when he had got his head and shoulders through the hearthstone, the boys beat him down with the poker. There was left, so it is said, a black mark on the stone where the Devil had tried to enter.

THE LIBRARY.

In 1728, the Grammar School was presented with a Library which has been described as "the most extensive and most interesting of the old Grammar School Libraries of Lancashire." It was the generous gift of the Rev. Henry Halstead, an old boy and a governor of the School, who bequeathed "to the master and feofees of the Free School of Burnley . . . all my library of books in my possession . . . to be used and taken care of by the Protestant Master and Feofees . . . and their successors for ever." To these books were added some from the library of the Rev. Edmund Townley, Rector of Slaidburn. Most of the thousand volumes are now kept at the Municipal Central Library, and only a few of the most valuable are retained by the School.

The books cover a wide range of subjects but the most numerous are those that deal with theology, history, law and medicine. Some of them are of great value and interest. A copy of the "Orations of Cicero" was the one used personally by Edward VI, and Walton's Polyglot Bible was also a Royal copy. The rarest book is one containing William Tyndale's two tracts, "The Obedience of a Christman" and "The Par-

able of the Wicked Mammon." The latter tract was a favourite of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. The oldest book is a volume of Plutarch, published in 1521. Many of the books have parts of old parchment deeds incorporated in the bindings; one of these dates from 1287.

Among the most valuable books are the following:—

Erasmus' New Testament in Greek and Latin, 1535.

Statutes of Queen Mary, 1588.

Hakluyt's Voyages, 1598.

Stow's Survey of London, 1603.

The True and Royal Historie of Elizabeth, 1625.

The Directory of Public Prayer, 1644.

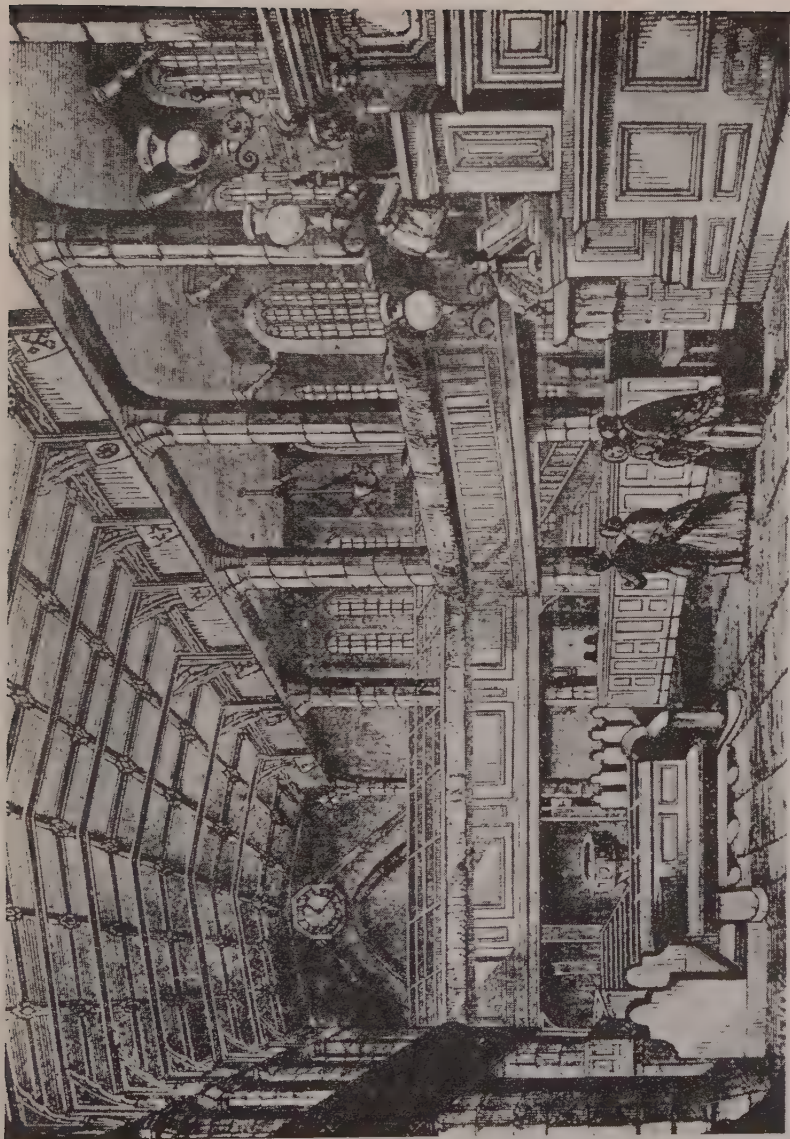
Milton's Eiconoclastes, 1649.

L'Estrange's Observator, 1707.

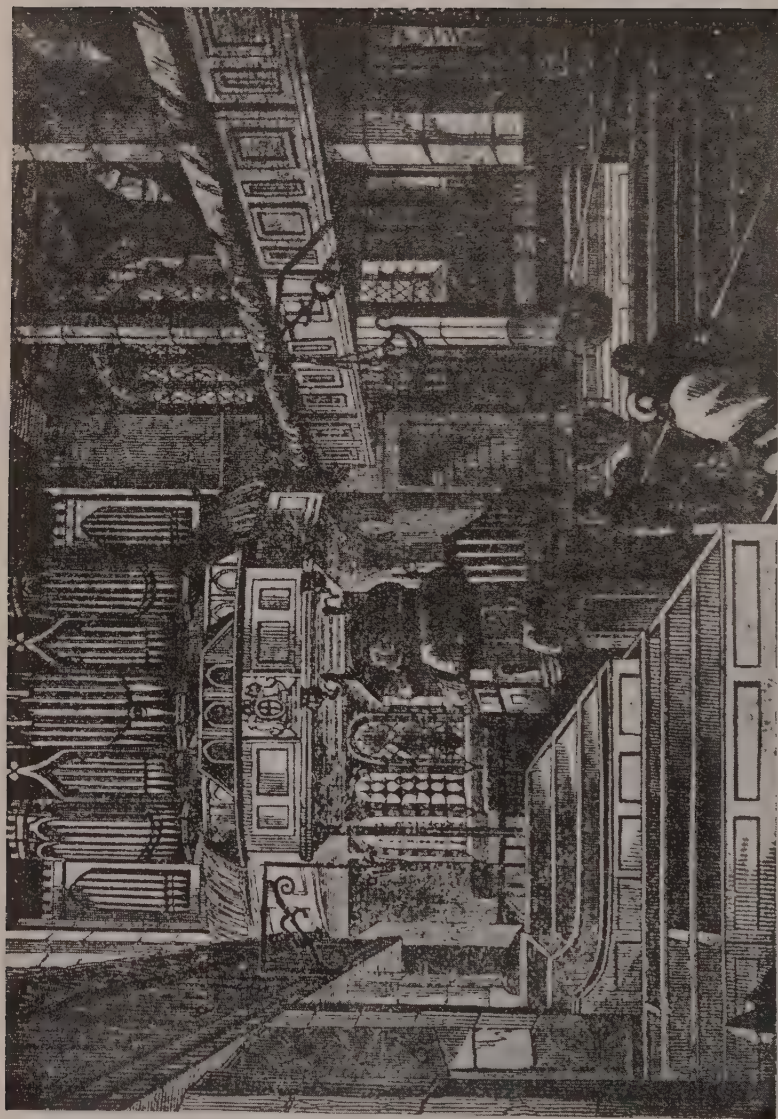
Included in the Library are eight folio volumes of manuscripts. These were probably once in the custody of Lawrence Halstead, Keeper of the Records in the Tower of London, and later found their way into the library of his relative, the Rev. Henry Halstead, from whom they passed to the Grammar School. They include records of all escheats made between 1422 and 1484, the possessions of English Abbeys, and the grants made by English kings to St. Paul's Cathedral.

SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS.

Several of the original textbooks used in the Grammar School are now among its treasured possessions. A late headmaster, Mr. Langfield Ward, in an excellent paper on the Grammar School Library, thus describes one of these textbooks: "An Arithmetic by Leybourne, divided into three parts, Vulgar, Decimal and Instrumental Arithmetic. Printed in 1657, it appears to have been used by successive generations of schoolboys, and is embellished, as school books used to be, with specimens of the scholar's handwriting and drawing capacity. The first name that occurs is John Ormerod: on the next page, upside down, right side up, slanting left and slanting right, are the names of John Brown, Eliz. Atkinson, Joshua Hitchon, Lawrence Halstead twice; on the next page, to make assurance trebly sure, Lawrence Halstead writes his name again; then John Ormerod re-asserts his claim; and at the head of the page somebody who does not sign his name assures us twice over that Fuller is a fool; two pages further on John Ormerod and Lawrence Halstead once more claim



ST. PETER'S IN 1850.



ST. PETER'S IN 1850.

possession of this half-crown volume; the latter has a sponsor for his rights, his name appearing with "reet by mee Rob. Dugdel 1709."

One might add to Mr. Ward's remarks that the book seems to have been owned by a Towneley, though his name has been ignominiously crossed out. A boy named Kippax possessed it in 1688 and John Ormerod in 1712, but which of the owners informs us of "Lime of ours burnt in our own kiln" is not known. Halstead tells us that "1 tun contain 4 and 1 hogshead contain 63 gallons" and that "there are 365 dayes natural in a yeare." Further on in the same book at the bottom of a page entitled "The Table of English Coyne in Decimals," Lawrence Halstead, on Sept. 14th, and Thomas Robertshaw on Sept. 21st, 1712, subscribed their names. To complete the list of the readers of Leybourne's Arithmetic, Nicholas Hey and Margaret "both of ye Parish of Haslingden" add their signatures. No wonder that the book is dilapidated, for it was in use at the School for at least twenty-four years, 1688-1712.

The contents of the book are equally interesting. What would a boy in the second form to-day make of the following?

"The Rule of Ceres and Virginum. This is the most incertain and unnecessary rule in Arithmetique, being seldom used except in sporting questions to puzzle young beginners, with easie problems, such as follows:—

Questions: A caterer bought 8 birds of 2 sorts, as Geese and Henns for 20s. The geese cost 4s. a piece, the hens 2s. a piece. How many did he buy of each sort?

This may be done by the Rule of False, and also thus: multiply the whole number 8 into the least price, 2s., it produceth 16, which taken from the whole price 20, rests 4 for a dividend, which divided by 2, which is the difference of the particular prices, the quotient is 2 for the number of geese, and 6 must be for hens; the prooffe is easie."

"Cocker's Arithmetic," published in 1714, was owned by William Halliwell and also by Henry Clayton. Henry, however, dates his possession as 1710, which, considering the date of publication, hardly seems possibly. This textbook, which is generally supposed to owe very much to one compiled by Jonas Moore of Pendle Forest, is rather more involved

than Leybourne's, but it only attains the same standard of mathematical knowledge. Some of the questions are interesting:—

“A merchant bought 8 tuns of wine, which being sophisticated (adulterated), he is willing to sell for 400£ and loseth at that rate 12£ in laying out 100£ upon the same, now I demand how much it cost him per tun?”

“I desire to know how many hours and minutes it is since the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ to this present year, being accounted 1714 years.”

And what would a fourth-former make of the following statement?—

“Negative Arithmetic, called the Rule of False, is that by which we find out a Truth, by Numbers invented or supposed, and this is either single or double. The Rule of Single Position is, when at once, viz., by one false position or feigned number, we find out the true number sought.”

With unconscious irony, Cocker's Arithmetic is completed by an advertisement which expounds the virtues of “a most excellent Natural Balsam, lately brought from Chile.” It cures most diseases and is a sovereign remedy for pains from cold; it corroborates the stomach and creates an appetite; it heals internal sores, bruises, ulcers, etc.; it helps asthmatical distempers and most diseases of the head, and strengthens the brain; it kills worms and helps all fluxes and deafness; finally, it cures all “green wounds.” Price 1/6d. per oz. Something to help the head and strengthen the brain must have been invaluable after a spell of Cocker's Arithmetic.

Naturally, Latin and Greek held a very important place in the school curriculum, and the textbooks that have been preserved indicate what tears must have been shed in the acquisition of classical learning. “John Marsh His Booke, August ye 16th” is repeated three times on the flyleaf of a small volume entitled “The English Rudiments of the Latine Tongue, explained by question and answer which are so formed that a childe, omitting altogether the questions, may learn onely the answers and be fully instructed in the Rudiments of the Latine Tongue, by Wm. Du-Gard. Published at the Marigold in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1660.”

Mr. Du-gard goes on to inform the schoolboy that “the end or aim (in coming to school) is or ought to be to obtain learning; the end of that is to enable thee to do God

better service, either in Church or Commonwealth," and admonishes the boy "not to squander away idly that precious time which thou canst never call back again."

Here are specimens of the questions and answers:—

Question: What is a pronoun?

Answer: A Pronoun is a part of speech, much like to a Noun, which is used in shewing and rehearsing.

Question: How many pronouns have the Vocative Case?

Answer: Four have the Vocative Case: as *tu, meus, noster* and *nostras*: all the rest lack it: also *sui* wants the Nominative Case. (We learn later that *nostras* (*nostratis*) is of the fourth declension).

Question: How many genders of Nouns be there?

Answer: Genders of Nouns be seven: the Masculine, the Feminine, the Neuter, the Common of Two, the Common of Three, the Doubtful and the Epicene.

A very important Latin textbook was "Erasmus' Colloquies." John Ormerod in 1701 and Oliver Ormerod in 1707 possessed the same copy of this book, though John Tattersall asserts that he "began this book 14 March 1707" and goes on to inform us that "this colloque teacheth the form the first metyng," whatever that may mean. Later George Eastwood in 1713 and Edward Shuttleworth of London both used this book; George also maintains that it is "his own book 1714." One of the users has made on a flyleaf a trial translation of a Colloquy. If his fair copy was at all like his original rendering, he would surely have to repeat it after school, for his translation is gibberish, his writing most unsatisfactory and his spelling influenced by local phonetics—"a raw stumock," "transperint greeness," "with what medsons are you wel."

Another volume of the Colloquies was claimed by Banaster Halstead. He writes his own introduction to the book:—

"Banaster Halstead is my name,
And with my pen I write the same;
This is my hand, this is my deed,
He is a fool that doth it read."

John Marsh in 1667 enters his name in a small volume, written in Latin, which deals with the Elements of Rhetoric. The book was published in 1660 and came from the pen of Wm.

Du-Gard. Its presence in the School shows that Rhetoric was one of the subjects taught in the 17th century. As in his Rudiments of Latin, the author teaches by question and answer. From the answer to the first question "*Quid est Rhetorica*" we learn that Rhetoric is the art of speaking well. Then we are told that there are two parts to Rhetoric, "*elocutio*" by which is meant the arrangement of the words of a speech, and "*pronuntiatio*" which deals with the delivery of the speech. The whole subject is then divided and subdivided in the manner common to the scholiasts.

At the end of the book, John Marsh breaks into verse:—

"John Marsh is my name
And with my pen I write the same,
An Domini 1664."

OLD BOYS.

Mr. Robertshaw has left an incomplete list of names of boys who were educated under him at the Grammar School. Among the names we find Holts of Loveclough, Towneleys of Carr Hall, Lowcock of Salterford, Dewhirst of Baxenden, Hargreaves of Whitehough, Hartley of Overton, Tull of Oldham (a boarder with the headmaster), Bracewell of London and Close of London, and Towneley of Leeds. There were several from Padiham, Marsden and the Pendle district, but naturally most came from Burnley and Habergham Eaves. There were Parkers, Barcrofts, Hargreaves, Nutters, Nuttalls, Lonsdales, Hoyles, Roberts, Tattersalls, Folds, Sutcliffe, Smiths, Howorths, Kippax, Higgins, Whipps, Ashworths, Ridings, Whalleys, Ormerods and Naylor among many other common surnames in Burnley. They were the sons of professional men (Dr. Smith), civil servants (Wm. Luty, the exciseman), clergy (Rev. Rd. Kippax), gentlemen (Townleys of Royle and of Carr Hall), yeoman farmers (Wm. Whipp), merchants and manufacturers (Sagar, Crook, Roberts).

The following is a list of boys of the School who proceeded to St. John's College, Cambridge:—

1651—Thos. Aspden, son of the headmaster.

1652—John Ellison, son of a draper of Altham.

1653 Charles Sagar of Ightenhill.

1655—John Breres of Bolton, son of John Breres, Clerk.

1656—Lawrence Halstead.

1657—Robert Hargreaves of Higham.

- 1658—James Tattersall of Rossendale.
- 1658—Robert Whittaker of Healey.
- 1659—Robert Crompton of Bolton.
- 1662—Stephen Aspden, son of the headmaster.
- 1663—John Duxbury of Higham Dean.
- 1698—John Kippax, son of Rev. Richard Kippax.
- 1705—William Folds of Danes House. Graduated in 1709.
- 1706—Nicholas Jackson, son of a Burnley draper.

We have already given in previous chapters the careers of Lawrence Halstead, Charles Sagar and Robert Whittaker, and little is known about other old boys of the Grammar School of this period. William Halstead was educated under Mr. Robertshaw, took his degree of Master of Arts at Brasenose College, Oxford, was appointed Vicar of Thornborough near Buckingham on Feb. 29th, 1723, Headmaster of Buckingham Grammar School (now the Royal Latin School) on July 29th, 1723, and Vicar of Padbury near Buckingham on Feb. 5th, 1729. He held the three posts until his death in 1770. The old school in which the Rev. Wm. Halstead taught started as a chantry school about 1223 and now exists as an "Ancient Monument" under the protection of the National Trust.⁽¹⁵⁾ The Vicar and Headmaster of Buckingham doubtless gained very materially from the refusal of the Vicar of Whalley to appoint him to the incumbency of St. Peter's. Mr. Robertshaw gave him a testimonial, probably after the completion of his course at Oxford: "I do hereby certify that the Rev. Mr. Will Halstead, now Master of the free Grammar School in Buckingham, during the time of his education under my care in Burnley School, Lancashire, was of a sober, civil and obliging deportment towards persons of all distinctions. After his removal into the south, whenever he made visits to his friends and relations in this parish, his sober and civil conduct endeared him to all such as conversed with him, and has established him a fair character in this parish."

Another old boy of the Grammar School was a very near neighbour to the Rev. Mr. Halstead in Buckingham. Benjamin Robertshaw, son of the Burnley headmaster, took his degree of M.A. at King's College, Cambridge, and became Vicar of Peen in 1716 and Rector of Agmondesham in Buckinghamshire in 1728. Another son of the headmaster held a curacy in Huddersfield where he died in 1719. William Whip, son of a yeoman farmer in Barden Lane, was educated at the

15. Information supplied by the Headmaster of the Royal Latin School, Buckingham.

Grammar School, took the degree of M.A., and served as Vicar of Leighton Buzzard from 1712 to 1719.⁽¹⁶⁾ Thomas Whittaker, son of Dr. Robert Whittaker of Healey, took the degree of M.A. at Edinburgh and took charge of a chapel at Leeds for 34 years;⁽¹⁷⁾ he could not enter Oxford or Cambridge because he was a nonconformist.

16. Information supplied by the Chief Librarian, Leighton Buzzard. 17 Farrer papers.

CHAPTER VII.

Means of Communication, 1750-1850.**ROADS.**

The "King's Highways" or main roads that had connected the chief towns and markets from mediaeval to early Hanoverian times proved quite unsuitable for the increased traffic of the 18th century. In this district, they were narrow, twisting, and in places very steep, for few of them followed an easy route through the valleys; above all, they were so badly maintained and repaired that they were dangerous to man and horse and impossible for light carriages and broad-wheeled wagons. One has only to walk from Holt Hill to Catlow village, part of the old highway from Burnley to Colne, to realise the truth of this statement.

The maintenance of the highways had always proved a great difficulty to local authorities. In the 15th and the early 16th centuries, they were nominally kept in repair by the farmers whose fields happened to border on the roads, but the work was so badly done that traffic even for foot passengers was well-nigh impossible. In 1554, the maintenance of the highways became the responsibility of the parish and surveyors were appointed with power to compel farmers and other householders to work on the roads for eight hours a day for six days in the summer. Even this system broke down because "the rich do so cancel their portions and the poor so loiter in their labours that of all the six scarcely two good days' work are well performed" and "these days worked are not employed upon those ways that lead from market to market, but each surveyor amendeth such by-plots and lanes as seems best for his own commodities and more easy passage into his fields and pastures."⁽¹⁾ The next method to be adopted was to give the surveyors the power to levy a rate on the parish; buy road-making material, and hire men, usually paupers, to keep the roads in good repair. This was the system in existence in the 18th century but not all farmers willingly accepted it. For example, in 1762, 33 farmers of Marsden agreed to pay the legal costs of Sagar of Catlow who was fighting a "test case" to determine whether he could legally be compelled to pay a road rate if he was willing and ready to carry out the road repairs himself. The justices gave their decision against the farmers.⁽²⁾

1. Harrison—Description of England.

2. Sagar papers.

In addition to the highways, there were numerous packhorse tracks that crossed and re-crossed the moors in all directions. Strings of ponies carried lime, coal, salt, silk, Irish yarn, cloth, market wares, and, in fact, practically all commodities along these tracks. Such a system was fairly satisfactory until the Industrial Revolution increased output to such an extent that a cheaper, quicker and more efficient transport service became necessary. Packhorse traffic persisted for some time in spite of the competition of new roads, canal and railway. Even in 1845 we read of regular teams of lime and coal "galloways" passing through Burnley.

The new roads, which were known as "Turnpike Trust Roads," were constructed under private Acts of Parliament by companies which bought the necessary land, paid surveyors, engineers and workmen, and provided road-making material; the companies recouped themselves for the invested capital by charging tolls on users of the roads. The maximum tolls to be charged, the number of toll bars, and any exemptions from payment of toll were fixed by Parliament. In the Burnley area, Peregrine E. Towneley, the Hargreaves family (colliery owners), Webster Fishwick (tanner and textile manufacturer), the Masseys (textiles), J. H. Whitaker and John Knowles (surgeon) were particularly active in promoting the construction of turnpike roads.

In 1754, a private Act of Parliament permitted the building of a new road to connect Blackburn, Burnley, Colne, Addingham and Cocking End. From Padiham, the road entered Burnley by Westgate, thus avoiding Barracks Road (soon afterwards called Old Blackburn Road) and the steep hill at Sandygate, passed through the Centre and Church Street and then direct to Duke Bar, so abandoning the old route by Hebrew Road; the turnpike road then followed an entirely new line by the Prairie, Brierfield and Nelson Centre, and entered Colne at Primet Bridge. Toll bars were erected at the bottom of Sandygate and at Duke Bar; the former was later removed to the Mitre and finally to a position near the junction of the present St. John's Road and Padiham Road.

The Burnley and Bacup Trust Road was also constructed in 1754. This road started opposite the Bull and Butcher and ran by High Turnpike, Crown Point and Windy Bank. The road does not seem to have been very popular and soon lost any importance it had, when the road to Bacup was opened via the present Todmorden Road.

The very ancient road to Halifax via Brunshaw, Mereclough, the Long Causeway and Heptonstall had witnessed the

passage of armed forces as well as the more peaceful journeys of monks, preachers, merchants, pedlars and wanderers. As it was no longer able to cope in the 18th century with the increased traffic in woollen goods between this part of Lancashire and the great woollen centres and markets of Yorkshire, an Act of Parliament was promoted by a private company in 1759 for “diverting, altering, widening, repairing and amending roads from Halifax and Sowerby Bridge by Todmorden to Burnley and Littleborough.” The Preamble to the Act states that “the ancient highways are rough and incommodious and in many parts thereof not only ruinous and dangerous to travellers but, by reason of the height and steepness of many hills, over which the same were then carried, almost impassable for wheeled carriages; and besides, were in general so narrow that two wheel-carriages could not safely pass, yet by deviating in some places from the common road, the height and steepness of the hills might be avoided and by enlarging and widening the said roads in other places, a safe and commodious road might be made and thereby a much easier and more extensive and advantageous communication might be effected through the populous and trading country, which in the present condition of the roads was in many parts thereof scarcely accessible.”

The ancient road was therefore widened and repaired for its whole length and a new road was built from the Long Causeway to pass through Holme and Todmorden. A toll bar was erected at the bottom of Brunshaw and another one at Red Lees. The tolls were as follows:—

Horse or beast drawing coach, carriage, chariot, Berlin, landau, chaise, chair, waggon, wain cart	-----	-----	-----	6d.
Horse, gelding, beast not drawing	-----	-----	-----	3d.
Score of oxen	-----	-----	-----	1s. 3d.
Score of calves, sheep, swine, lambs	-----	-----	-----	5d.

There were no tolls for waggons carrying hay or straw, riders going to church on Sundays, ploughs or husbandry tools, corn, wool going to the fulling mill, public mail or packet.

In 1776 the toll rates were revised and fixed according to the following schedule:—

For every horse or other beast drawing any coach, waggon, cart, 2s. or 1s. 6d. according to the breadth of the wheel.

For every horse or beast laden or unladen and not drawing	6d.
For every 20 oxen or other neat cattle	2s. 6d.
For every 20 calves, sheep, swine or lambs	10d.

The route of this very ancient road is indicated in the following jingle:—

“ Burnley for ready money, Mereclough noa trust:
Yo’re peeping in at Stiperden, and call at Kebs yo’ must:
Blackshaw Head for travellers, and Heptonstall for trust:
Hepton Brig for landladies, and Midgeley near the moor;
Luddenden’s a warm spot, Royle’s Head cold;
An’ when yo’ get to Halifax, yo’ mun be varry bold.”

The present Manchester Road was built soon after 1795 as part of the Burnley-Edenfield Trust Road. The petitioners to Parliament for permission to construct the road stated that “ the road leading from the town of Burnley into the turnpike road leading from Blackburn through Haslingden to Bury . . . is . . . very much out of repair, narrow and incommodious and cannot be sufficiently amended ” and pointed out the advantages that would accrue to Burnley from a really good road to Bury and Manchester. The new route lay by the present Manchester Road, and the old way by Sandygate, Coal Clough Lane and Cog Lane was abandoned. A toll bar was erected near the Bull and Butcher and successful efforts were made to close the old route by putting a chain across the road at the bottom of Sandygate. At first, the road was not a financial success and therefore by an Act of 1814 the tolls were increased:—

Horse, mare, gelding, mule, ass—laden or un-	
laden	2d.
Score of oxen	1s. 6d.
Score of sheep, swine, lambs, calves	1s. 0d.
Coach drawn by 5 or 6 horses	3s. 0d.
Coach drawn by 3 or 4 horses	2s. 0d.
Coach drawn by 2 horses	1s. 6d.
Coach drawn by 1 horse	9d.

The tolls were doubled on Sundays. On all days, the return journey was free.

In 1817, Todmorden Road was built as part of a new turnpike road to Todmorden and at the same time a branch road was built from a point above Boggart Bridge to Bacup, joining the 1754 Burnley-Bacup road at Windy Bank. The toll bar was first situated in Eastgate at the bottom of Tod-

morden Road, then at the Woodman Inn, next at Causeway End and finally at Windy Bank. A toll bar on the way to Todmorden was situated at Overtown.

In 1827, the Burnley-Accrington Trust Road through Hapton was constructed by a recently formed Trust Company. This was the last turnpike road to be constructed in this district and was the means of opening up Lowerhouse and Rosegrove. The toll bar was situated at Wood Top at the junction of Cog Lane and Accrington Road.

None of the roads proved to be a particularly good financial investment for shareholders. Shares received 5% interest and were redeemed whenever there was a favourable credit balance. Directors received no fees. The average annual income of the Blackburn and Addingham Trust (the main road through Burnley) was approximately £5,000 but the expenses were so large that only occasionally was there a big credit surplus; in 1870, over a century after the formation of the Company, there was a capital debt of £3,000 still outstanding. The Burnley and Halifax Company, established in 1759, was even more unfortunate for at times even the interest on shares could not be paid owing to the adverse balance; its income was about £4,000 a year and its debt in 1870 amounted to £7,500.⁽³⁾

The later accounts of the Burnley and Edenfield Trust Company⁽⁴⁾ will illustrate the financial fortunes of a typical local turnpike trust. This company had begun with a capital of about £8,000 held by shareholders who received an interest of 5%. The earlier years of the Company were prosperous and by October, 1823, the interest-bearing debt had been reduced to £5,680 but unfortunately during the period 1820-1823 unpaid debts to the amount of £3,100 had accumulated. In the following year, the interest-bearing capital rose to £8,860 so that evidently the debts had been paid from the proceeds of an issue of more shares. The expenses for the year 1823 amounted to £3,715 of which £1,950 was spent on labour and repairs, £470 on the purchase of land, £702 paid for both current and accumulated interest on the capital, and £50 on labour for "cutting snow"; the income amounted to £5,327 out of which £2,810 was the "balance in hand" from 1822 and £2,445 was the income from tolls, so leaving a balance of £1,812 at the end of the year's working. In other words, after payments had been made for interest on capital, salaries (clerk £21, surveyor £60, accountant £24, treasurer nil), wages

3. County R.O. QDT 1 11-44.

4. County R.O. QDT 1-19.

for labour, repairs, etc., there had been a loss of £1,000. This loss is however counterbalanced by the payment of accumulated arrears of interest to shareholders. In 1837 there was a deficit of £209 and a smaller one of £11/5/0 in the following year. The four next years were good years and the capital debt was reduced to £7,480, at which figure it stood during the "Hungry Forties." The prosperity of 1850-60 together with a lower expenditure on labour and repairs enabled the directors to reduce their capital liability to £3,700; afterwards, owing to continued good trade (except for the years of the "Cotton Famine") and the great reduction in the amount of interest payable, the capital debt was reduced in 1873 to £660.

The tolls received on the Burnley-Edenfield Road for various years are interesting:—

1823—£2,445	1844—£2,039	1865—£1,523
1824—£1,745	1845—£2,139	1866—£1,691
1833—£1,901	1857—£1,559	1867—£1,775
1835—£2,204	1858—£1,464	1868—£1,865
1838—£2,420	1859—£1,614	1869—£1,757
1839—£2,550	1860—£1,770	1870—£1,763
1840—£2,640	1861—£1,723	1873—£2,650
1841—£2,103	1862—£1,470	1874—£2,650
1842—£1,900	1863—£1,391	
1843—£2,141	1864—£1,366	

During the period 1823-1875, the following names appear as chairmen at the meetings of the Company:—Peregrine E. Towneley, John Hargreaves, Reginald Hargreaves, John Lomas, R. Ro. Walton, J. H. Whitaker, Lord Massey, John Knowles, Wm. Robinson, jun., John Heelis and James Roberts; the clerks were Holden Hammerton, Richard Shaw and Robert Handsley; the treasurer was one of the directors of the Craven Bank; the accountant was John Thornton and the surveyors were Richard Clegg and Richard Taylor.

Within a few years after 1870 all turnpike roads were taken over by the local authorities. The Burnley-Edenfield Company was "wound up" on May 1st, 1875. After paying off the capital debt of £660 and the interest on it, giving a bonus of £240 to the surveyor, £63 to the clerk and £18/15/0 to the accountant, paying law charges of £88 and income tax of 5/2d., selling the toll bars, gates, stone, tools, etc., for £1,189, there was a balance of £790/12/7d., which was divided amongst the townships through which the road passed.

POSTAL ARRANGEMENTS, COACHES, CARRIERS.

The Post Office was situated in 1824 near the Boot Inn but at some time before 1848 it was removed to a shop at the junction of St. James's Street and Market Street. Isaac Cartmel was the postmaster 1818-1850: he was succeeded by J. Sutherland. Before 1840, stamps were not bought and affixed by the sender of a letter but postal charges were paid by the receiver when the letter was delivered. Charges varied according to distance with a minimum of 4d. for the first 15 miles—4d. from Colne, Padiham and Blackburn, 5d. from Skipton, 6d. from Preston and Bolton, 8d. from Leeds and York, and 11d. from London. An extra $\frac{1}{2}$ d. was charged for the delivery of any letter outside the township in the postal area of Burnley.⁽⁶⁾ After 1840 letters could be sent to any place in the United Kingdom for 1d.; the stamp was bought and affixed by the sender.

Local mails between Burnley, Colne and Blackburn were carried by horsemen. Letters from Colne were received in Burnley at 7-0 a.m. and despatched to Colne at 10-30 a.m.; they arrived from Blackburn at 8-0 a.m., and were sent out to Blackburn at 4-0 p.m. For longer distances, both mails and passengers were carried by the post coaches, "The Invincible" which ran between Leeds and Burnley and "The Telegraph" which ran from Skipton via Burnley to Manchester. "The Invincible" was really the name of a coaching company which gave its name to all its coaches. One of them arrived at the Bull Inn at 12 noon and was there met by another coach belonging to the same company which set out for Blackburn, Preston, Ormskirk and Liverpool; at Preston, other coaches were waiting to carry the mails and passengers to Blackpool, Garstang, Lancaster, Carlisle and all parts of the North. "The Invincible" returned to Leeds after depositing the mails and travellers at Burnley. "The Telegraph" arrived at the White Lion, Burnley, from Skipton at 1-0 p.m. on Mondays and 7-30 a.m. on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays; it returned from Manchester at 5-30 p.m.

Private "post" transport could be provided in 1827 by the Postmaster at the following charges per mile:—2/- for chaise and four; 1/3d. for chaise and pair; 6d. for a saddle horse.

Numerous coaches also ran between Burnley and Manchester, Burnley and Blackburn, Burnley and Skipton. The journey to Manchester took a little over two hours: after

5. Directories of 1824 and 1851.
6. Directory 1824.

7. Ibid.

a stay of varying length, the coach returned to Burnley and usually arrived back in the late afternoon. If an enterprising local printer of 1824 had published a time-table of Burnley to Manchester coaches, it would have appeared as follows:—

COACHES BETWEEN BURNLEY AND MANCHESTER.

	Sun.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.	Sat.	Fri.
"Commercial Union" (A) dep.	6-30 a.m.	1-30 p.m.	4-30 a.m.	6-30 a.m.	6-30 a.m.	6-30 a.m.	5-30 a.m.
arr.	3-30 p.m.	8-30 p.m.	8-00 p.m.	6-30 p.m.	3-30 p.m.	3-30 p.m.	6-30 p.m.
"Market Coach" ... (B) dep.		3-00 p.m.	5-00 a.m.	8-30 a.m.			5-00 a.m.
arr.			3-30 p.m.	3-30 p.m.			3-30 p.m.
Coach (C) dep.	6-30 a.m.		6-30 a.m.	6-30 a.m.		6-30 a.m.	
arr.	12 noon		12 noon	12 noon		12 noon	
"Express" (D) dep.	8-00 a.m.			8-00 a.m.			8-00 a.m.
arr.	5-00 p.m.			5-00 p.m.			5-00 p.m.
"John Bull" (E) arr.	3-30 p.m.	4-30 p.m.	7-00 p.m.	4-30 p.m.		4-30 p.m.	5-00 p.m.
"Telegraph" (F) dep.		1-00 p.m.		7-30 a.m.		7-30 a.m.	7-30 a.m.
arr.		5-30 p.m.		5-30 p.m.		5-30 p.m.	5-30 p.m.

NOTES: A. Through coach between Skipton and Manchester. Starts from Mr. John Riley's, shoemaker, near the Clock Face. Fares— 7/- inside, 3/6d. outside.

B. Starts from the White Lion.

C. Starts from Mr. Henry Eastwood's, coach proprietor, St. James's Street.

D. Runs to Blackburn only.

E. Through coach between Bury and Burnley.

F. Post Coach—starts from the White Lion.

Coaches set out daily from Burnley for Colne and Skipton. Some of them were the Manchester coaches on their return journey, but others confined themselves to the journey between Burnley and the Yorkshire town. In 1818, coaches from the White Lion started for Skipton on Sundays at 12 noon, Mondays at 5 p.m., Wednesdays at 5 p.m. and 8 p.m., and for Colne only, on Tuesdays at 8-30 p.m. and Fridays at 12 noon. In 1850, omnibuses ran three times a day between Burnley (Red Lion) and Colne.

One is tempted to linger in imagination over the by-gone scenes in Burnley when coaches drawn by teams of horses came rattling and jolting down Manchester Road, announcing their arrival with the perhaps not-unmusical note of a horn, bringing packets and papers to give the latest news of Crown and Parliament, affairs at home and abroad, reports of speeches and trials, and all the things that interest; and we may think, too, of the passengers from London, Lincoln and Bristol, who had been on visits to relatives, sightseeing on holidays, or on the more necessary affairs of mundane

business. Sometimes, too, the coaches met with accidents that ended in death or injury for the occupants. Let us hope that Burnley drivers of rival companies were more careful than those of Clitheroe where one driver in his anxiety to beat his competitor by arriving a minute or two before his scheduled time, whipped his horses in the last few yards, over-shot his stopping place and crashed against the curb with fatal consequences to himself, his passengers and coach.

Goods and bulky articles were usually conveyed by "land carriers" who used ponies, horses and carts, and "stage-waggons" drawn by teams of four. In 1772 there were two carriers between Manchester and Burnley travelling from Manchester on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, and returning on the following days. In 1818 James Heys carried goods on three days in the week to Padiham and Blackburn, John Whittaker daily to Padiham and Todmorden, and Henry Wilkinson daily to Colne; James Pate of the Red Lion drove his stage waggon and four to Manchester on Mondays and Thursdays and returned on the following days.

In 1824 the carriers were more numerous; eight of them set out from the Red Lion, one from the Bay Horse, and one from the Clock Face. There were daily journeys to Bacup by Lawrence Ormerod, to Colne by Thomas Bell, and to Padiham by John Whittaker. Four times a week, Henry Slater carried goods to Barnoldswick and Settle, twice a week Radcliffe and Woods went to Haslingden, and three times a week John Haworth went to New Church in Rossendale. John Whittaker travelled with goods on three days a week to Todmorden and Halifax. Goods for Whalley were carried by Henry Shaw and by Mary Wilson on Mondays. Usually, the carriers' waggons assembled at the Red Lion about 11 o'clock in the morning and set off in the afternoon. Henry Shaw delayed his departure for Whalley until 5 p.m.

Conveyance by packhorses was usually conducted in connection with quarries and coalpits. It was not uncommon for a person to own 20 to 30 small but strong ponies, known as "galloways," which carried, in baskets slung to their sides, Burnley stone and coal to Clitheroe, and Clitheroe lime to Burnley. The journey to and from Clitheroe took 20 hours, travelling all the time with no "overnight" at the limestone quarries.

The last of the Burnley stage coach drivers were Richard Radcliffe Rothwell (died 1842) and his son, Richard Rothwell (died 1864), both of the Bull Inn. They drove

coaches between Burnley and Preston called "The Wonder Coach" and "The Beehive." Receipts for the 1st Quarter of 1838 amounted to £74/7/1d. and expenses £40/12/10d.; of the expenses, tolls accounted for £18/16/0, government duties on mileage £18, cleaning, etc., 12/-. For the 1st Quarter of 1843 the Beehive brought in a profit of £16/12/4d., but for the same Quarter of 1846, the Wonder Coach earned only £4/12/-. About 1850, Richard Rothwell kept "a stage carriage"—registered number 9790—to travel "between Station and Station, 2 miles" (Bank Top to Manchester Road) and to make no more than six journeys on weekdays or 72 miles a week in all; his licence for the stage-carriage cost £3/3/- a month. At the same time, Rothwell held a post-chaise licence for 12 horses and nine carriages to carry the local mails.

THE CANAL.

Since the canals that had been built in the early part of the 18th century had proved conclusively that the cost of transport by water was considerably less than by road, many schemes were inaugurated to expand the canal system. In 1764 a meeting was held at Bradford to examine a proposal to build a canal from Leeds to Preston.⁽⁸⁾ A committee for the Lancashire section of the canal and one for the Yorkshire section was set up and Mr. Brindley, the famous canal engineer, was asked to report on a survey of the proposed route already made by Mr. Longbottom, another engineer. In 1768 Mr. Brindley, who was paid a daily wage of 2/6d.-3/6d., gave a favourable report and stated that the canal would be 108½ miles long, 42 feet wide and five feet deep and that the cost would be £259,777 but that the shareholders could expect an annual profit of £3,000 out of an annual income of £20,000. The next meeting was held on Dec. 18th, 1768, at the Bull in Burnley and it was there decided to promote a Bill in Parliament to sanction the construction of the canal and ask for a capital of £260,000 in £100 shares. At the meeting the members of the Lancashire committee forcibly expressed the view that the canal would be more profitable if it passed through Burnley, Rishton and Great Harwood; and even threatened to withdraw all support unless their proposals were adopted. At a further meeting on Dec. 11th, 1769, at the Bull Inn, Burnley, the original scheme was carried and the feelings of the Lancashire members were appeased by a promise that the canal would be built simultaneously in Lancashire and in Yorkshire. It was also decided that the canal should be 27 feet wide and

8. Halifax Ant. Soc. Publications—Leeds and Liv. Canal.

4½ feet deep. Mr. Brindley himself was present at the Burnley meeting in 1769 and “his dinner, postages, etc., cost 7/4d.”

The Canal Company came officially into being in 1770 when the Bill passed both Houses of Parliament. General meetings of the Company were to be held alternately at Skipton and at the Bull Inn, Burnley. On the committee were Alexander Nowell of Read Hall, Richard Ecroyd of Edge End, Marsden, John Halstead of Burnley, merchant, and John Clayton of Carr Hall, Nelson.

The Act of 1770 permitted the “making and maintaining of a Navigable Cut or Canal from Leeds Bridge . . . to the North Lady’s Walk in Liverpoole” . . . and from thence to the River Mersey.” Its route through this area was to run via Foulridge, Colne, Marsden, New Laund, Filly Close, Padiham, Simonstone, Read, Whalley, Salmesbury, Leyland, Bootle, Kirkdale and Liverpool. Such a line would obviously have little commercial advantage for it passed through agricultural country and was at some considerable distance from the rising towns, such as Burnley, Great Harwood, Rishton, Blackburn and Preston. Therefore in 1790 an amending Act allowed the route to be altered in so far that it passed through Hapton, Altham and Great Harwood; in this Act the Canal was to pass through Ightenhill Park and Gawthorpe. In 1794 another deviation was permitted and this time the Canal passed through Burnley; the new route was Foulridge, Barrowford, Marsden, Burnley, Habergham Eaves, Hapton, Clayton, Accrington, Rishton, Blackburn, Wigan, as it runs at present.⁽⁹⁾

In 1773 the Bingley-Skipton section was opened and coal was as a consequence sold in Skipton at half the old price. In the following year, the Liverpool-Wigan, Skipton-Gargrave and Bingley-Leeds sections were completed, but the capital of the Company was exhausted. More money was raised by permission of Parliament and in 1782 the Leeds and Liverpool Canal Company absorbed the Douglass-Wigan Canal Company. In 1790, when the first great deviation from the original route was sanctioned, permission was granted to borrow a further £200,000 to pay for the completion of the Canal. The capital of the Company was further raised in 1794 by another £280,000; on this occasion, the promoters pointed to the extension of the Canal through Burnley and the need to make various branch “cuts” along its whole length in order to link up villages, collieries, etc., with the main waterway. In the Burnley district,

two such “cuts” were to be made, one in Ightenhill Park “to open a very valuable coal mine” and the other at the request of Shuttleworth “through his Gawthorpe lands.”

In 1796, the Burnley-Foulridge section (eight miles) was opened and connected in 1801 with the Burnley-Enfield portion (nine miles). The whole stretch from Foulridge to Enfield proved to be most costly; the embankment at Burnley, 1,256 yards long and 60 feet high, cost £22,000, the Gannow Tunnel, 559 yards long, cost £10,000, and the Foulridge Reservoirs £9,000. The total cost of the Canal, estimated in 1768 to be about £200,000, proved to be nearly £1,200,000. The original length was to be $108\frac{3}{4}$ miles but alterations of the route brought the total length to 143 miles. The chief engineer was Mr. Longbottom who had made the original survey; Mr. Brindley had been invited to undertake the work but he had found himself too busy to accept the invitation.

Whenever it was possible, land for the canal was purchased on a “thirty years” purchase price; otherwise the land was leased for a very long term. The actual digging and clay-puddling was done by local labour which was reinforced by workers from more distant villages, e.g., Gisburn, who came to make their homes in Burnley; sometimes small sections were let by tender to contractors. The Company appointed overseers of the diggers in the various sections and paid them at the rate of 10/6d. a week.

The main wharves in Burnley were near Colne Road, where John Birley had his boat-building yard, at Finsleygate, famous for the “turn-bridge,” at Manchester Road and at Gannow.

Tolls were levied at the following rates:—

Clay, brick, stones	.....	.....	$\frac{1}{2}$ d.	per ton per mile.
Coal, lime	.....	.....	1d.	“ “ “
Timber, merchandise	.....	.....	$1\frac{1}{2}$ d.	“ “ “

To assist the Canal Company, the Acts stated that rates and taxes should not be levied on the income from tolls, etc., but that local authorities might impose rates on the acreage of the canal, as if it were agricultural land. In 1890 the opposition of local authorities to this privilege became so strong that Parliamentary sanction for the imposition of rates on the annual value of the canal was demanded and secured;

at that time, it was shown that for 20 years 1870-1890 the Company had paid an annual dividend of 15% and that in 1891 the value of £100 share was £302.⁽¹⁰⁾

The Canal Company had its own fleet of boats and barges but it allowed privately owned vessels to use the waterway by paying a rent and tolls whenever they passed through a lock. Robinson Greenwood, miller, had his own boats on the Canal.⁽¹¹⁾ The Burnley overseers of the poor advanced money on the security of a coal boat belonging to a youth named Dean and threatened that if he and his brothers "broke up their home" and so forced their mother to seek relief, "the coal boat would be withdrawn from him."⁽¹²⁾ Henry Astin, shopkeeper, of Shorey Street, Burnley, owned a "Packet Boat," which carried passengers to Blackburn and back. It "sailed" from the Canal Wharf, Burnley, at 6 a.m. every Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday, and reached Blackburn at 10 a.m.; it started back at 4 p.m. on Wednesdays and Sundays, and reached Burnley at 8 p.m., but on Saturdays, though it set off at 2 p.m., it took five hours over the journey and so did not "dock" until 7 p.m.⁽¹³⁾

In 1824, the Canal Company had "a regular set of vessels" sailing every day, except Tuesday, to Foulridge, Gargrave, Skipton, and Leeds, and "A Fly Boat" (express service) on the same days to the same places: in addition, the Company conveyed goods to Liverpool, through Enfield, Blackburn and Wigan.⁽¹⁴⁾

RAILWAYS.

The glory of the turnpike roads with their coaches and post-chaises travelling at 12 miles an hour and the glamour of a canal trip to Blackburn soon passed, for a new era in transport was begun in 1830 when a railway line between Manchester and Liverpool was opened and Stephenson's "Rocket" drew a coach-load of the visitors over the track at the astonishing rate of 28 miles per hour. Soon a railway boom set in and lines in all directions were projected; some of the schemes never came to fruition, others were adopted and form sections of the present railways. About 1840 the East Lancashire Railway Company was formed and in 1847 leased land in this district for the extension of the line from Accrington through Burnley to Colne.

10. Notes by Mr. Horner, Clerk to Burnley R.D.

11. Will of R. Greenwood in Pickup Croft Mill deeds.

12. Overseers' accounts.

13. Directory 1824.

14. Ibid.

The building of the Burnley railway arches was a formidable engineering task and rivalled in skill the construction of the Canal embankment. The building of stations and the laying of the track went on while the arches were under construction so that "trips" were run from the Barracks Station to sea-side towns many months before the Burnley section of the line was officially opened on September 18th, 1848. The station at Bank Top, now the Central Station, had one "platform" on the down line and the original buildings and covered platform still remain as part of the present station.

From a time-table issued on October 1st, 1851, we learn that there were eight trains on weekdays from Colne to Manchester which arrived at and departed from Burnley at regular intervals between 7-35 a.m. and 7-40 p.m. From Manchester, eight trains left between 6-50 a.m. and 6-40 p.m. for Burnley and Colne. There were three Sunday trains in each direction. In addition there was one train a day that ran between Burnley and Colne only. Seven trains a day left Burnley for Blackburn, Preston and Liverpool.

The average time taken for the journey from Burnley through Marsden (now Brierfield Station) and Nelson to Colne was 20 minutes though one "non-stop" train covered the distance in ten minutes. To Manchester, some trains took $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours, other $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours and one took only $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours; from Manchester on the return journey the average time taken was $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours but one train was scheduled to leave Manchester at 5-25 p.m., Accrington 6-5 and to arrive at Burnley at 6-20 p.m. and Colne at 6-30 p.m.

Two trains each day to Manchester and back were labelled "Parliamentary" which meant that passengers on those trains could demand fares at 1d. a mile, according to the Trains Act of 1842. Other trains were composed of 1st and 2nd class coaches and fares were correspondingly higher.

Illustrations of early trains show coaches that resembled railway waggons fitted with seats for the passengers who thus had the benefit of an uninterrupted view but had to endure wind, rain and smoke and soot from the engine. Conditions had improved before the Burnley line was opened for the print on the title page of the 1851 time-table portrays a four-wheeled engine with tall chimney, open footplate, separate coal-tender and two coaches; each of these coaches had three narrow compartments with no other windows than those in the doors, luggage was fastened down outside on the top of the coach, and a coachman with folded arms sat on the "box"

at the front of each coach, as if prepared to drive a team of non-existent horses. Below the carriage doors were iron steps to assist passengers when mounting and alighting, for several stations had no raised platforms. Inside the coach were hard, wooden seats.

The Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway Company which had been formed in 1825 to promote the building of a railway from Manchester to Leeds could only begin that work in 1837. In spite of great engineering difficulties arising from the necessity to make a long tunnel and many bridges, the line was completed in 1841 and proved so successful that the Company decided to build another line between Burnley and Todmorden to link up N.E. Lancashire towns with their main Manchester-Leeds line at Todmorden. Manchester Road Station was built in 1849 and the line was opened the same year. The station was originally on the other side of Manchester Road railway bridge and was often known as "Thorneybank Station." Six trains ran daily to Todmorden between 7-30 a.m. and 5-30 p.m.; the same number left Todmorden for Burnley every day between 7-59 a.m. and 6-30 p.m.⁽¹⁵⁾

The engine of the train that ran between Burnley and Todmorden was named "Mazeppa"⁽¹⁶⁾ but was often nicknamed "Vesuvius." The driver was Jim Redford, to whom Mr. Henry Nutter⁽¹⁷⁾ dedicated one of his poems, of which the last stanza runs as follows:—

In winter's cold, or summer's heat,
I sit at ease with thee,
Mazeppa's throbbing voice is sweet,
Tis always dear to me.

I've not the slightest dread, indeed
With thee I've nought to fear.
Then welcome to thy puffing steed,
Old Jim, the engineer.

With a hey ho chivey,
Hark forward, hark forward, tantivy.
Then here's to Jim, make way for him
And keep the main line clear.

15. Advertisements in "The Mentor"
1853.

16. A Polish gentleman 1644-1709 who was
tied to a wild horse; story told by
Byron.

17. Henry Nutter—Local Rhymes.

On the death of the old driver, Mr. Nutter published another poem in which the following lines occur:—

Through the Calder's sylvan valley,
 Dear old Jim,
 Will "Vesuvius" no more sally
 With old Jim?
 Unprotected, onward steering,
 In thy dangerous charioteering,
 Through the darksome tunnel peering,
 Dear old Jim.

About 1846 there was a Burnley project for another railway, to be known as "The Manchester and North Lancashire Railway," which was promoted by several well-known Burnley men, including Co. Towneley, who was to be Chairman, and Captain Starkie, Vice-chairman. The line was to run from Holme to Manchester via Preston and it was hoped it would attract traffic from villages which were some distance away from the existing lines. In this district, the route was Holme, Rowley, further side of the Ridge, Heasandford, Bankhouse Barn (a little way down Bankhouse Street; here the Burnley station was to be built), under the viaduct, Gannow, Lowerhouse, Padiham, Whalley, Ribchester and so to Preston. Fortunately for would-be investors the scheme was abandoned.

Such were the earliest conditions of the railway system in Burnley. Transport by road and canal did not immediately suffer a great deal from the competition of the railways; perhaps this was partly due to the cost and to the apparent unwillingness of railway companies to help customers, for even in 1866 there were only two railway lorries to collect and deliver goods for Burnley which then had nearly 40,000 inhabitants. However, as Burnley's industries expanded and the railway service became cheaper and more efficient, traders and manufacturers sent more and more of their goods by rail.

Foreword to the subsequent chapters.

This history of the people of Burnley and the development of the town has now reached its final stages. Up to the middle of the 18th century, Burnley remained a self-sufficing unit, expanding slowly and normally from village to market town, making a few innovations, and retaining its own characteristics,—isolated, as it were, from the outside world. After 1750, and particularly after 1800, there was a complete break with the past, and with almost miraculous rapidity, a pleasant village with farmsteads, fields and woodlands was transformed into a rather ugly factory town, where lived a changed people, dwelling in crowded houses, working in mills, and living a life that somehow seemed debased when compared with the freer and more independent life of the early 18th century.

This expansion of Burnley is bound up with, and caused by, the Industrial Revolution, a term which implies a change in methods of manufacture, from hand-work to machine-work, and in organisation, from work at home to work in factories. Of course, these changes had to be made but they broke the individual character of the town, which became, as the text-books call it, “one of the manufacturing towns of Lancashire;” the 19th century history of Blackburn, Accrington, Haslingden and other towns is the history of Burnley, with changed names.

The Industrial Revolution however means much more than a change in methods and organisation of production. Money was needed to buy the new machines and build factories to house them and thus those who had financial resources at their command, even on a moderate scale, had an opportunity to become “masters.” There had been masters or “clothiers” in the Burnley textile industry before, but their power had been limited since a discontented independent workman could find other employment; the late 18th and 19th century masters had a far greater hold over the workers in the factories, because the independent worker at home could not compete against the machines in the factory, either in price or output. Thus arose the important body of masters who controlled both large and small factories. Much has been written about the tyranny of these masters, the low wages they paid, the long hours they enforced, and the terrible conditions prevailing in the factories, but one must remember that in the beginning such conditions were almost inevitable. There were no such things in Burnley as “planned economy” and “central directives;” masters themselves were in competition with one another, constantly cutting

prices to secure contracts; moreover, acting on the theory that low prices encourage a demand for goods, every endeavour was made to keep costs of production (including wages) at the barest minimum. Masters "went bankrupt" even in prosperous years, so keen was the competition between factory owners. One has always to remember, also, that many masters in the early 19th century sank in their mills all they had, together with money they borrowed; many made only a very small profit on their contracts and were ruined at the very beginning of any trade depression.

There was possibly a tendency at the time to ignore the human element in this machine-age, and the suffering and misery entailed by the work in factories; nor was much attention paid to the wretchedness of pauper children, drafted in batches from workhouses into Burnley to serve as apprentices and learn "the mystery of the art of weaving." Such conditions inevitably led to labour disturbances, public processions, demonstrations, resolutions, strikes, lock-outs and riots. Thus, one of the first direct results of the Industrial Revolution in Burnley was an increase in trade as a whole, a reduction in the general level of wages, wide-spread poverty, insistent demands for improved conditions, and labour troubles on a scale that Burnley had never before witnessed.

Another factor that created dismay in the minds of earnest men and women was the quick and shoddy building of property to house the population that had been swollen by immigrants into Burnley from villages, far and near. This evil also seemed inevitable for low wages permitted only low rents and therefore Burnley, like every other Lancashire town that passed through the trials of the Industrial Revolution, built its cellar dwellings, tenement houses and back-to-back cottages. The whole situation arose so suddenly and developed so quickly in Burnley that there was little time to plan for the moment, much less adopt "a long term policy." Still, such dwellings rapidly deteriorated into slums of the worst possible character where disease, dirt, and vice seemed to thrive. The hardships and the misery of life for the poor were increased by lack of water and gas in the houses, for though pipes for both commodities were soon to be laid in the town, it was many years before the poorer cottages were supplied.

The expansion of trade and the increase of population caused a greater demand for coal, building materials, engineering work, food, clothing, and many other commodities. Thus, labour became more and more specialised and each section of workers became more than ever dependent on other groups.

During the first half of the 19th century, there were certain periods when distress was particularly prevalent. After the fairly prosperous times of the French Wars, 1793-1815, trade began to decline and Burnley seems to have felt the effect for the first time in 1816-17; then from 1822 for five years there was a great deal of unemployment which reached its climax 1826-27; a few years of comparative peace ensued until 1831 when once again, Burnley knew bad times; the period of the "Hungry Forties" proved to be one of the worst that the town had ever experienced.

Such is the dismal side of Burnley's history during the first half of the 19th century but fortunately that is not all, for other important movements had also taken shape. The town's conscience had awakened to the evils in its midst and churches and chapels were showing unparalleled energy in their work of helping the distressed and eradicating sin; Sunday schools were built to cope with the ignorance among children; educational classes were started to turn the thoughts of adults to higher things; savings banks were begun to encourage thrift; in short the town showed determination to elevate the moral and spiritual tone of the masses.

Accompanying this work of humanity, there was almost a revolutionary change in the government of the town. In 1819, the control of Burnley passed from the Vestry to a body of Commissioners. The Commissioners were not popularly elected, it is true, but they were concerned solely with town affairs and left the maintenance of the Church and its religious services to the churchwardens and the congregation. Under the new system, improvements were effected which would never been accomplished under the Vestry and the Justices of the Peace. With this change in the government of Burnley must be mentioned the work of Parliament which introduced a new Poor Law system, passed Factory Acts that regulated the hours of work and the conditions of apprenticeship, passed Parliamentary Reform Acts that eventually allowed every householder to share in the government of the State, cheapened the price of bread and other essentials, and made many other reforms that were of untold benefit to Burnley people.

This foreword has given a survey of the conditions in Burnley in the first half of the 19th century and is of the nature of a prologue to the remaining chapters of this book. Its object has been to give a comprehensive view of this very complex period before dealing in detail with the several sections. When, therefore, one reads of the misery in cellar dwellings, the hunger of children, and the uprisings of the

adults, one must remember too, the earnest work of Christians and the zeal of humanitarians, all labouring to mitigate the hard lot of the oppressed and discontented poor.

Actually, the final stage in Burnley's development up to the present time began in the second half of the 19th century when the benefits of the Industrial Revolution were realised (cheaper food and goods, higher wages, higher standard of living, etc.), when the efforts of churches and chapels, town councils, educational bodies, trade-unions, and numerous Burnley reformers were at last successful and a beginning was made to demolish the slums, provide more amenities for all, increase educational facilities, re-plan the town, and introduce those social changes which have been so beneficial to Burnley.

CHAPTER VIII.

Industries. 1750-1850.**TEXTILES.**

It has already been seen that Burnley's textile industry in 1750 was mainly confined to the preparation and manufacture of woollens, worsteds and fustians, and that these cloths were almost entirely made by workers in their own homes, though there were one or two very small factories where operatives worked under the supervision of a master. After 1750, two most important changes took place—the cotton manufacture replaced the woollen industry, and the factory system gradually broke the independence of domestic textile workers.

The general development of the textile industry in Burnley may be traced from contemporary Directories. In 1750, it was stated that Burnley had "a small share in the woollen trade" and that Colne was noted for the manufacture of certain worsteds, known as shalloons, serges and tammies. The phrase "small share" is vague, but details given for 1781 show that in that year Burnley's production of worsted cloth was nearly half as much as that of Colne.

	Inhabitants	Number of Worsted Pieces.	
Burnley	1,890	7,662	
Ightenhill	129	832	
Worsthorne	471	No return.	
Habergham Eaves	1,276	1,564	
Cliviger	1,054	3,597	
Briercliffe	753	6,336	
	<hr/> 5,573	<hr/> 19,991	Value £32,160.
Colne	2,757	13,534	
Trawden	1,120	7,578	
Foulridge	615	2,919	
Barrowford	1,006	4,793	
Great Marsden	993	8,079	
Little Marsden	772	5,940	
	<hr/> 7,263	<hr/> 42,843	Value £54,900.

Disparity in output of worsteds from Burnley and Colne is due to the fact that Burnley was also manufacturing cotton goods and ordinary woollens in addition to the recorded worsted.

Tunnicliffe's Survey of Lancashire, published in 1787, gives the names of Sagar Veevers, baize manufacturer, Henry Crook, shalloon, camblet and stuff manufacturer, Martha Crossley and son, shalloon, camblet and stuff manufacturer, Joseph Massey, shalloon, camblet and stuff manufacturer, and Joseph Topper, baize manufacturer. Shalloons and camblets were rather coarse worsteds, and bays or baize had a worsted warp with woollen weft; "stuff" was the generic term for all worsteds. There is evidence that some independent weavers made a serge cloth which was reckoned among the finest worsteds.

Sagar Veevers lived at Coal Clough House and carried on the family woollen business that had been in existence since the early part of the 17th century; a family of Veevers, also woollen manufacturers, lived at Scar House (Church Street) early in the 19th century and had a warehouse or small weaving shed behind the house. The Crossleys originated in Cliviger and came to live in Burnley at "Whittaker's Tudor House" (Church Street) rather late in the 18th century; Henry Crossley died in 1782 and his business was carried on by his widow, Martha, and his son, James: when the woollen trade began to leave Burnley, the Crossleys migrated to Halifax, where they established a very large and prosperous business. More will be said later about Henry Crook, Joseph Massey and Joseph Topper.

A 1792 Directory records that Burnley is a market town situated in a rich and pleasant valley and possessing two fulling mills (for woollen goods), one mill for grinding logwood and other materials for dyeing, and "several engines for preparing and carding wool and cotton for spinning"; Messrs. Peel, Ainsworth, Cockshutt, Heelis and Alsop, all from Bolton-le-Moors, have warehouses here and employ a great number of weavers and spinners in the cotton branch, of all ages and both sexes, who earn a competent livelihood." The same Directory gives the names of four worsted manufacturers, one worsted and woollen, three woollen, nine cotton, one thread maker, two dyers and fullers, two loom makers and one heald maker.

Aitken's Survey of 1795 states "Burnley is a small market town of semi-circular form, standing in a narrow, crooked, but pleasant and woody vale, surrounded with bleak

hills and high grounds. There is much excellent freestone in the neighbourhood and the buildings are modern. Its population seems greatly on the increase. The trade of the town was formerly only in woollen or worsted goods, particularly shalloons, calimancoes, and tammies, but the cotton manufactures are now introduced. Some fulling mills for woollens are still continued; and there are many cotton machines and printing works in the vicinity of the town. The surrounding country is remarkably populous. The Leeds and Liverpool Canal crosses here and almost circumscribes the town."

The Lancashire Directory of 1818 states that "owing to its rapid increase of population, the principal part of the town (of Burnley) has been built within the last thirty years. The houses have in general a neat appearance, being principally of free-stone, which is found in abundance. The trade of the town was formerly confined to woollen or worsted goods but of late years the cotton industry in all its branches has been successfully introduced. Several fulling mills for woollens are still continued. Burnley in 1811 contained 828 houses and 4368 inhabitants." The list of industries in the Directory of 1818 shows the remarkable growth of the cotton industry; it gives the names of 16 firms engaged in cotton spinning and manufacturing, four spinning firms, three engaged in woollens and worsteds, and, in addition, one fustian maker, one dyer, one calico printer, one sizer, and three machine-makers.

Baines' Directory of 1824 gives a full account of Burnley's textile industry of the time. After stating that out of 1,227 families, 1,167 are engaged in trade, manufacture, or handicraft, 23 in agriculture and 37 in professional pursuits, or unemployed, the author states "Formerly the manufactures of Burnley were confined entirely to woollens, but cotton has now obtained the ascendancy: and on the rivers which form the tongue of land on which the town stands, there are cotton factories, wool mills, and print works, but only one single fulling mill remains as a memorial of the ancient staple. The cotton manufacture has increased wonderfully: and it appears that there are at present 25 to 30,000 pieces of calico manufactured per week in this town and its immediate neighbourhood. The quantity of cotton yarn spun is about 80,000 lbs. weight per week, chiefly from 20 to 40 hanks to the lb. The number of spindles in motion are about 60,000, together with a number of jenny spindles, which are used for coarse work. There is also a considerable manufactory of coarse woollens, belonging to Joseph Massey and Co. The quantity of worsted yarn spun per week is about 7,260 lbs. such as is generally spun in the

neighbourhood of Bradford: by which a number of persons are employed in the combing of wool, and its other processes. Few places are more favourably situated for trade—coal, stone, and water, all afford their efficient assistance, in no parsimonious supplies: and the Leeds and Liverpool Canal forms a cheap and expeditious water conveyance to this place in the whole line of country from the German Ocean eastward, to the Irish Sea westward. A place so situated can scarcely fail to be prosperous, and though adverse circumstances may occasion temporary depressions, there is here sufficient buoyancy to rise above all difficulties." An analysis of the trades shows that there were three worsted spinning firms, one woollen manufacturer, 19 cotton spinning and weaving firms, three cotton spinners, one calico printer, four sizers, two dyers and fullers, ten machine makers, three reed makers, three shuttle makers, and two spindle makers.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

The above quotations from the Directories illustrate the changes that were brought about locally by what is called "The Industrial Revolution." This term covers the remarkable expansion in industry that was due to the adoption of mechanical inventions which increased output. Among the new improvements in the manufacture of textiles the following are the most important. The efficiency of the old fashioned cottage handloom was vastly increased by John Kay's "Flying Shuttle," invented in 1733, which enabled the weaver to operate the shuttle by pulling a string with one hand instead of passing it through the warp threads from hand to hand, backwards and forwards.⁽¹⁾ In 1760, John Kay's son, Robert, invented the "Drop-box," which enabled the weaver to use any one of several shuttles containing different coloured threads, without having to remove the shuttle in use from the lathe.⁽²⁾ Both these inventions were adopted by handloom weavers working in their cottages. Hargreaves' "Spinning Jenny," invented 1764 and patented in 1770, could spin eight threads at the same time, but later its efficiency was increased so that up to 100 spindles could be turned at once by one machine. It produced a finer but not very strong thread, which was therefore used only for weft yarn. The machine was at first worked by hand, and smaller ones, spinning up to 24 threads, could be installed in cottages. Arkwright's "Water-frame" spinning machine, invented in 1769, used a new principle, the thread being passed between a number of

1. Wadsworth and Mann—Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire p. 450. 2. Moffit—Eng. on Eve of Ind. Rev. p. 180.

pairs of rollers, each pair rotating a little faster than the pair behind it. The spun thread was suitable for warp as well as weft. This machine, which was far the most effective at the time, could be driven only by water power or steam power and therefore could not be used in a cottage; moreover, it was expensive, and, as the ordinary cottage spinner had neither the space nor the capital for such a machine, the spinning industry was soon concentrated in factories. Crompton's "Mule," invented in 1776, combined the principles of the jenny and the water-frame and produced a yarn both fine and strong. The weaving of muslins now became possible.

The effect of these inventions on cottage-spinners can hardly be over-estimated. In former times, the handloom weaver had to travel long distances to collect the yarn from the many spinners he employed and often his loom stood idle for lack of weft; after the invention of the jenny, the balance of speed rested with the spinners who used the new machines in their cottages. As these spinners, however, only received their raw material from the merchant clothier or weaver when yarn was needed, many cottage spinners were often short of work. The new machinery became highly unpopular; it was frequently smashed up, and its inventor had to remove from his native district. The water-frame and the mule completed the ruin of spinning as a domestic industry.

Weaving now lagged behind spinning. This disadvantage was remedied by Cartwright's "Power-loom," which was designed in 1785, but not brought into general use until some thirty years later after many improvements had been incorporated in the machine. The power-loom could be used only in factories and soon became a challenge to cottage handloom weavers; they struggled courageously for very many years and worked for less wages than the factory weaver, but, in the end, they had to submit to the new order of things.

Other necessary operations in the manufacture of cotton goods were speeded up by new inventions; in fact, without some of them, the value of the water-frame, the mule and the power-loom would have been almost negligible. After 1792, American raw cotton was cleaned by machinery before being exported to England; before that date, much valuable time and labour had been spent on beating the cotton with sticks to loosen the seeds embedded in the fibre, which were then picked out by hand. More important, perhaps, was a carding machine, invented by Paul and patented in 1748, which was introduced into Lancashire about 1760; Arkwright remedied certain defects in the machine and took out another

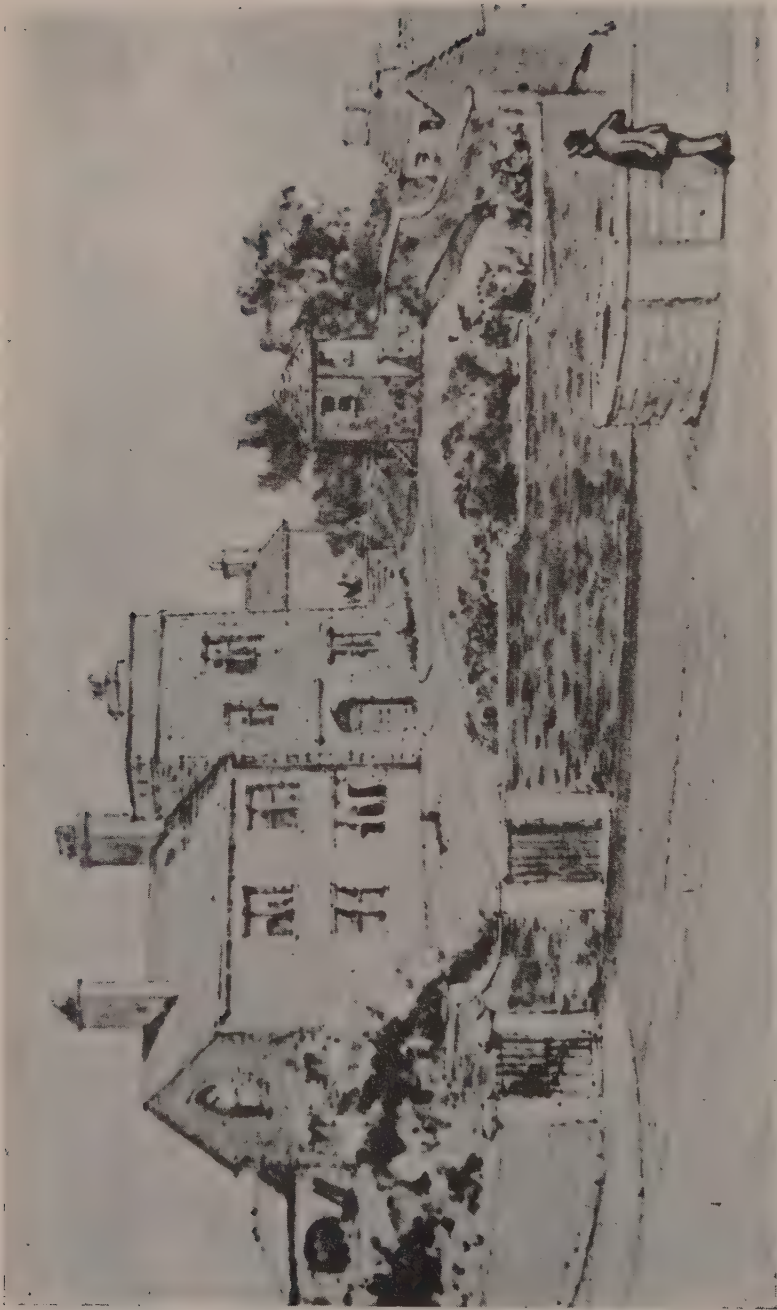
patent. Both cotton and wool had to be carded in order to straighten out the fibres preparatory to the spinning process; the carding was originally done by hand with "hand cards," an operation which was so slow that even small jennies would often have been idle for lack of carded cotton. Arkwright's carding machine was an intricate one, consisting of three cylinders, revolving in the same direction; the raw cotton was carded from the first to the second by the greater surface velocity of the latter, and the third or doffer cylinder was enabled to take the cotton from the second by means of the setting of its teeth in an opposite direction. The carded cotton was removed by the crank and comb. The carding machine enabled the spinning industry to make very rapid headway.

The development of the cotton trade was aided very considerably by two inventions which were connected rather with the finish of cotton goods than with their manufacture. The bleaching of fabrics was formerly effected by exposing them for long periods to air and sunshine, but after 1780, the use of chlorine reduced from months to days the time required for the process. After 1795, bleaching powder was used because chlorine rotted the cloths. The other invention that helped in the expansion of the cotton trade was concerned with pattern printing. When the printing of calicoes was first adopted in England, the pattern was stamped on the cloth with a block in short lengths. This was a most laborious process and even a careful workman could not always make the edges of adjacent stamped pieces coincide in order to make the pattern continuous through the whole length of cloth piece. Women were employed to "pencil-in" the pattern where the pattern had not coincided at the edges. A "Pencilling Brow" in Sandygate was so-called because a small shed was situated there in which pencillers were employed. In 1783, a Scotsman, Thomas Bell, of Walton-le Dale, in the employ of Livesey, Hargreaves and Co., patented a machine for printing cloth which consisted of a number of rollers or cylinders on which the dies were fixed and a "box-doctor" to each cylinder which supplied the colour. This machine printed a continuous pattern and the work of pencilling was rendered unnecessary.

To these inventions in the textile industry must be added that of Watt's steam engine, patented in 1769, which provided a far more reliable source of power than the water-wheel. In Burnley, it enabled mills to be built on the Canal and in those places where a stream could be dammed to make a mill lodge; moreover, local supplies of coal were abundant and cheap.



THE CENTRE IN 1854.



BRIDGE END HOUSE.

BURNLEY AND THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION.

Burnley was well adapted to take full advantage of the changes in the textile industry. The countryside was thickly populated and could supply the mills with workers who possessed a skill that had been inherited from generations of spinners and weavers; farming had, in general, lost its attraction as a profitable source of livelihood, and farm tenants and farm labourers were ready to drift to the town. In addition to the reservoir of labour, other factors that were necessary to success were present in Burnley. The climate was admirably suitable for the manufacture of cotton; quarries at Extwistle, Hambledon, Ightenhill, Healey, Marsden and Catlow provided stone for the building of mills and houses, and when brick was used there were the clay pits and brick kilns on the site of St. James' Church, Marles and Barden; the supply of coal was unlimited and water could be obtained from the Canal or from lodges that were filled by numerous streams; easy and cheap communication with Manchester and Liverpool was provided by turnpike roads, the Canal and the Railway; and finally there was cheap money to be obtained from Holgate's local bank and its successor, the Craven Bank, or from the first Burnley Building Society.

FACTORIES.

The earliest factories of which there are any important details were Halstead's Mill near Orchard Bridge, which dated from 1736, and the "Bazing Hall" or "Dandy Shop" in Massey Street, which was erected in 1787. Both these factories contained handlooms for woollen weaving, and used yarn that had been spun by domestic spinners. There were other workshops before 1800 where wool-combing was carried on, of which the largest seems to have been situated in Massey Street and run by John Folds;⁽³⁾ other wool-combers carried on their trade in little workshops over stables, smithies, etc.

The second stage in the development of the factory system in Burnley came with the erection of spinning mills which used either the jenny or the mule. The domestic spinners could not compete against the new source of supply of yarn and doubtless it was from the ranks of unemployed women and children that workers were recruited for the new spinning factories. Some of these early mills contained hand-worked jennies but others used larger and heavier jennies and mules which were driven by power from water-wheels. Such

3. Bank House estate plans and Rate Val. Book.

were Extwistle Mill, Jewel Mill, Heasandford Mill, and "Mill Dam" Mill at the bottom of Bridge Street. Steam power was first introduced by the Peels in their new spinning factory which was built in 1790 at the bottom of Sandygate; it was destroyed by fire in 1798. Another steam engine was installed in a mill at Goodham Hill in 1800⁽⁴⁾ and it is likely that it was attended by John Smithson, who was described as "the waiter on the steam engine."⁽⁵⁾ By 1830 there were 32 steam engines in Burnley but one or two of these were used at weaving mills and others at coalmines.

Meanwhile, weaving remained principally a domestic industry carried out on handlooms in the homes of the workers, though there is evidence to show that some of the early spinning manufacturers employed weavers to work handlooms which had been installed in some of the rooms of the spinning mills.⁽⁶⁾ The third stage in the development of the local factory system was reached when the factory handlooms were replaced by power looms; thus, factory weaving increased in importance. But the practice of building separate weaving factories and running them independently of the spinning sections was not common and for many years it seemed that the town's future would depend on spindles rather than on looms. It was not until after 1860 that Burnley's spinning industry began to decline and that weaving became the staple industry.

There is little conclusive evidence to show how far a Burnley mill was able to carry out all the processes in the manufacture of cloth or how far it specialised in some particular branch or branches. As far as worsted cloth was concerned, the initial process of wool-combing seems to have been carried out in private "shops," such as those of John Folds in Massey Street, William Bamford in Shorey, and Jeremy Wilkinson in Hill Top.⁽⁷⁾ It is uncertain whether the combing was done "on commission" or whether combed wool was sold to worsted manufacturers. With ordinary woollens, the factory owners of the 19th century, such as the Masseys, employed sorters, spinners and weavers and apparently were able to complete all the processes on their own premises.⁽⁸⁾ The cotton industry had developed its specialised branches before it was introduced into Burnley and consequently its local organisation was rather different from that appertaining to the manufacture of woollen fabrics. Some Burnley cotton factories of the early 19th century certainly carried out all the operations, such as spinning, warp-making, bobbin-winding,

4. Farrer papers.

5. Parish Registers.

6. On evidence of late Mr. G. Keighley.

7. Rate Val. Book.

8. On evidence of late Mr. J. Rawlinson.

sizing and weaving, but it is most probable that most mills confined themselves to particular sections of the textile industry. About 1800, Joseph Watson had a weaving factory in Burnley Wood (probably at Healey Royd) and bought jenny-spun yarn at 4d. a lb.; the Directories provide lists of firms which specialised in warp-making, sizing, dyeing and printing.

The following list of textile factories and smaller "shops" which are known to have existed between 1750 and 1850, has been arranged according to situation. Where no date has been given, it may be assumed that the mill was erected after 1830.

BRIDGE STREET, KEIGHLEY GREEN, AND WAPPING AREA.

The Sun Inn (now Hudson's leather shop), kept in 1800 by James Whittaker, was not only a tavern with its own brewhouse, and a farm with stable and shippin, but also "a weaving shop," fitted with handlooms.⁽⁹⁾

The old factory building at the corner of Bridge Street and Howe Street was erected about 1780 by Messrs. Crook and Tattersall as a worsted spinning mill. It had a waterwheel three feet broad and eight feet high turned by water from the corn-mill lodge that stretched across the present roadway; the worsted mill was therefore often known as "The Mill Dam Mill."⁽¹⁰⁾ Five or six cottages which were situated in Bridge Street between the factory and the corn-mill were demolished before 1865 to allow for extensions to the building. Behind the factory stood a dwelling house and the town dungeon with two workshops above. The dungeon was sold in 1819 to Thomas Whittaker, carrier and staymaker, and together with the dwelling house passed by purchase into the possession of the factory owners.⁽¹¹⁾

The Crook family, the effective members of the firm of Crook and Tattersall, was fairly well established in Burnley in the 18th century. John Crook, innkeeper of the Thorn, leased the Plumbe Street coalmine from Henry Blackmore in 1736 and was succeeded by his son, William.⁽¹²⁾ Henry Crook, son of William, built and lived at Swallow Hall (now the Market Inn), took over the King's Corn Mill and sold corn and flour, became a textile manufacturer, and completed his business activities by entering the brewing industry.

9. Rate Val. Book.
10. Farrer papers.

11. Deeds in possession of Councillor S. Taylor.
12. Farrer papers.

Henry Crook unfortunately failed and his textile business passed in 1800 to John and Thomas Eltoft, who later took over Salford Mill. John Eltoft at the time lived in a substantial house in Cannon Street, which afterwards became the home of John Hargreaves, the brewer, and, later still, the "Black Dog." The Eltofts enlarged the Bridge Street factory, installed a steam engine of 18-20 H.P. and manufactured both cotton and worsted goods. Shortly afterwards, Messrs. Spencer and Moore took over the Mill Dam Mill, put in new looms, and made it into a cotton spinning and weaving factory. About 1850, Samuel Watson, cotton manufacturer, took over the business and he was succeeded in 1865 by Messrs. Ashworth and Harrison, cotton spinners. Their partnership was dissolved and Harrison continued until his death in 1877, when John Taylor, wine and spirit merchant, took over part of the building as a warehouse.⁽¹³⁾

The King's Mill or Soke Mill, to which all copyhold tenants originally took their corn to be ground, was leased from the Crown by the Shuttleworths, who sub-let the buildings to Messrs. Crook, Tattersall and Sagar; Matthew Greenwood was the miller, 1814-1823. In addition to the grinding mill which was driven by a water wheel until 1820 when a steam engine was installed, there were two kilns for drying oats. The corn mill was burnt down in 1852 and on its site, Messrs. Spencer and Moore erected the new King's Mill for spinning and weaving and leased it in 1879 to Lancaster Bros.; Nuttalls, printers, now occupy part of the premises.

The "Old Brewery" was situated at the junction of Moseley Street and Bridge Street and was built before 1800 by Messrs. Henry Crook and Tattersall.

A cotton spinning and weaving mill in Water Street (off Cannon Street) was owned by William Tickle in 1824.

A small weaving factory of 20-30 looms run by Messrs Holt and Law and later by George Barnes occupied the site of Webster's shop.

A cotton spinning mill at the bottom of Hall Rake (Hall Street) was owned in 1840 by Henry Dixon. This mill was built on Grammar School land.

A cotton spinning mill between Cannon Street and Massey Street was built by Henry Deighton Fielding about

13. Farrer papers and deeds in possession of Councillor S. Taylor.

1855 and the roadway was widened at the same time. Mr. Fielding came to Burnley in 1841 from the Manchester district, and for a time was a grocer in Manchester Road. After establishing his Bridge Street mill, he joined with his brother-in-law, John Barnes, at Bankfield Mill in Curzon Street. He retired to Cheadle Hulme 1864-9, returned to Burnley and was Mayor 1881-3; he died in 1890.

In Massey Street, in 1800, John Folds had a wool-combing shop at the end of a row of cottages, in one of which he lived. The whole property is now demolished but stood opposite the premises of the "Club Brewery." "Bazing Hall" or the "Dandy Shop" still exists in Massey Street and was erected in 1787 as a woollen mill; it is reported that it had about 300 "dandy" handlooms. A dandy loom had iron uprights instead of thick wooden ones and a foot treadle for winding the cloth as it was being woven round the cloth-beam instead of using the more primitive rope or windlass system for the same purpose; the invention is said to have been made by Ben o' Whittams of Lane Bottom, Haggate.⁽¹⁴⁾ The mill was owned in 1800 by Tattersall, Holgate, and Co., who also employed domestic spinners and weavers; its annual value at the time was £58. In 1824, the mill passed into the possession of Mr. Lord Massey and his two sons. It is said that they washed the wool in the Brun and employed three sorters. New looms were fitted by Spencer and Moore when they secured the property in 1832.⁽¹⁵⁾ In 1866, the firm of Lancaster took over the mill from John Moore who had suffered financially during the Cotton Famine.

The building near the Police Bridge which is now used for scrap metal was erected about 1820 as a woollen factory. It was later run by Smallpages as a weaving shed with 200 looms. The Parsonage Mill, so-called because it was built on the site of the old parsonage, was erected about 1830 by John Moore. When it was sold in 1866 to Isaiah Smallpage, formerly a grocer, and Kershaw Bros., it contained 950 looms and 53,000 spindles. It ceased to exist as a mill about 1900.⁽¹⁶⁾

Somewhere in the vicinity of Massey Street was a cotton factory owned in 1800 by Christopher Hartley, who lived in the house at the east end of the old Wesleyan Chapel, lately the Burnley Lads' Club. Hartley owned a farm of 18 acres in Barden. Thomas Kay also had a small factory in Keighley Green in 1818 but his main business was that of a

14. Ev. of late Mr. J. Rawlinson.
15. Ev. of late Mr. W. Rawlinson.

16. Press reports.

clothier who employed domestic textile workers. He was accused of buying "ronge," that is, yarn which handloom weavers had managed to "save" out of supplies provided by other employers. Soon after 1815, Kay built a spinning mill in St. James' Row, where jenny spindles were used. In 1820, he removed to Newchurch; his daughter married William Fishwick and his son, John Robinson Kay, carried on his father's business until his retirement to Summerseat.

In Bank Street (continuation of Bank Parade), Webster Fishwick, son of the Rev. James Fishwick, of Padiham, built, a little before 1800, a cotton spinning and weaving factory. He also owned Marles Farm, which was valued at £81 a year, and a tannery on the Brun near his home, "Green Bank," in Bank Street. His son, William, was a cotton manufacturer, a tanner, and a timber merchant with a timber yard near his home in Stanley Street. Both father and son leased land in Bank Street and on it erected houses for artisans. William Fishwick's daughter married William Hopwood, who built a mill in Westgate. The mill in Bank Street was sold to William Lancaster about 1857.⁽¹⁷⁾

THE CURZON STREET AREA.

Bankfield Mill at the corner of Curzon Street and Bankhouse Street began as a small cotton factory in 1820 owned by two brothers-in-law, William Hopwood and William Pollard; a little later, James Hopwood added a sizing house, which gave its name to "Size Street" between the present two buildings. In 1842, George and John Barnes, who also ran their Hill Top Mill, extended Bankfield and were there joined by H. D. Fielding. George Barnes at one time lived on Bank Parade, then removed to Grimshaw Street and finally lived at Spring Hill; John built and lived at Reedley Grove (often called "Barnes' Hall"), and was a Mayor of Burnley 1863, 1869, and 1870.

Salford Mill on Royle Road was erected in 1823 as a cotton spinning and weaving factory. Its first owner was probably John Hargreaves, but the Eltofts took it over about 1830. It was later run by Mark Kippax. It was destroyed by fire about 1890.

In 1824, Samuel Newton, of Chancery Street, commissioner for oaths and sub-distributor of stamps, Daniel Spencer of Fountain Street (on the site of the Market Hall), and

17. Ibid.

Richard Hamer of Howe Street were classified as "cotton manufacturers and spinners," but probably they were all "clothiers" or "putters-out."⁽¹⁸⁾

The district between Brown Street and Calder Street, which included the "Clubhouses," ranks with Keighley Green as a very early factory area; it was in this locality that there was the first sign in Burnley of organised street-planning. "Union Buildings" was the name given to two or three very small factories at the end of Cooper's Foundry. Here, in 1792, Mr. Alsop of Bolton had a warehouse and Mr. Heelis and Mr. James Howard had spinning mills. Mr. Pickup also had a spinning factory in Veevers Street, three storeys high, 20 yards long and ten yards broad and possessed a steam engine of 5 H.P.; adjoining the mill was a warehouse and a spinning shed. The whole property had a rateable value of £20 a year. When Mr. Pickup became a bankrupt in 1806, the mill with its fixtures was sold for £600 to Thomas Smith of Manchester, cotton merchant; the warehouse and shed were bought for £500 by William Lambert of Barnoldswick, cotton merchant.⁽¹⁹⁾

Cuckoo Mill, now used as a marine stores, was built in 1833 by John Hargreaves, brewer, as a cotton spinning factory. It had a vertical engine with beam, drums and connecting rods, all made of wood.⁽²⁰⁾

Behind the Cuckoo Mill and near the junction of the Brun and the Calder was an iron foundry and a spinning mill, both built by John Crook about 1800; the mill was later successively used as a weaving shed, a bakery, and a foundry.

Collinge's spinning mill in Gas Street was built about 1830; another spinning mill, owned in 1824 by Tattersall and Cross, was situated between Gas Street and the Commercial Inn.

"The Top Factory" stood in Brown Street, a little beyond Veevers Street. It was one of William Hopwood's early factories and was built about 1820; it was extended by James Howarth about the middle of the century.

"The Bottom Factory," built about 1820 by Sagar Veevers, also became the property of James Howarth; its chimney stood near the site of the present Salvation Army Hostel.

18. Directory of 1824.

19. County R.O. DDX 8-55.

20. Evidence of late Mr. G. Keighley.

ST. JAMES' STREET AND WESTGATE.

A jenny-spinning mill was erected in St. James' Row about 1818 by Thomas Kay; he continued to employ a fairly large number of domestic handloom weavers, as he had done from his warehouse in Keighley Green. A cotton warehouse and a small woollen mill, the property of Messrs. Spencer and Holgate, stood in 1800 near the bottom of Manchester Road.

A cotton factory, which stood on the site of the Victoria Theatre, was owned in 1824 by John Spencer and later by the Tunstills. It had an engine house which jutted out into the street and occupied a site adjoining the present Marshall's furniture shop. Near Spencer's mill were Hewitt's dyeing mill and Watson's calico printing shed; these businesses became the property of Emanuel Sutcliffe. Further along St. James' Street were Topper's woollen mill, which had been built before 1787, and Pomfret's cotton factory.

In Caldervale Road, the old fulling mill of 1736 had become a small woollen mill, owned by the Holgates.

The present paper works started about 1800 as a calico printing works under the ownership of the Peels. Later, it became a dyeing mill as well as a printing works.

HILL TOP AREA.

A small woollen mill, built in 1787 by Sagar Veevers, stood behind Scar House. The house had been built in 1780 by Lawrence Hitchon of Burnley but it was apparently leased to the Veevers family, who tenanted it until well into the 19th century.

"Whittaker's House," now demolished with Scar House and all the old property in Church Street, was the home of the Crossleys of Cliviger who used one of the buildings as a depot for handloom weavers of woollens and worsteds; when the woollen trade began to leave Burnley, the Crossleys transferred their business activities to Yorkshire.

Scar Top Mill in Malt Kiln Street and Engine Street had two sheds with 10,300 spindles. By 1860, it had become a weaving factory with 340 looms, a beam engine of 50 H.P. with two boilers provided the power. At one time it was owned by John Law and Sagar Veevers.

Hill Top Mill, built about 1820, was run by George and John Barnes. Rishton Mill, on the site of the present Odeon Cinema, was a spinning mill belonging to the Folds' family.

CROFT STREET AND FULLEDGE AREA.

Hudson's spinning mill was situated in Firth Street and Aqueduct Street; it is now an iron works.

Pilling Field Mill, which stood on the site of the Electricity Works, had 40,000 spindles and was run by Messrs. Brown and Spencer and then afterwards by the Haslams, Edward Houlding, and William Fishwick.

No. 5, Croft Street, in 1824, was a small factory belonging to Messrs. Spencer and Moore.

Pickup Croft Mill at the top of Basket Street was built as a corn mill and became a spinning mill in 1846.

Pickering's spinning mill, known as "Spring Garden Mill," still stands near the Brunshaw side of the Culvert.

Handbridge Mill stood opposite Towneley Lodge and was built about 1844 by Norton Fletcher, a plumber and glazier.

Fulledge Mill was built about 1850 by William Halstead, who came from the Harle Syke district. He is said to have built "Cop Row" in Burnley Lane out of the profits made from "ronge" buying; he came to Burnley in 1847 and manufactured delaines in Trafalgar Street until he erected his mill in Fulledge. It was destroyed by fire some years ago.

Lomas' Mill is now the Pentridge Cinema. Mr. Lomas was a grocer in Church Street, built property in Grimshaw Street, and became Mayor in 1867.

FINSLEYGATE AND LANE BRIDGE AREA.

Finsley Mill or Turn Bridge Mill at the bottom of Finsleygate was built by the Holgates about 1820. It was taken over by Knowles and then by Whithams.

Law's Mill, now Baron's, was built by John Law about 1830 as a spinning and weaving factory.

Suteliffe's spinning mill, erected about 1830, stood near the gasworks.

Spruce Mill, now Hartley's nut and bolt works, was originally a spinning mill.

Seller's Mill near the Canal was built about 1830 as a spinning factory. A Mr. Cooper, who lived in what is now the Ship Inn, was responsible for its erection.

Wilkinson's Mill in Saunder Bank, erected before 1800 by Jeremy Wilkinson and continued by his son, was probably the earliest mill in this particular area. It is now part of Butterworth and Dickenson's Foundry. Near Wilkinson's Mill was a cotton factory belonging in 1824 to Edward Gregson.

Williamson and Harling had a mill in Healey Wood fitted with throstle spinning machines.

Albion Mill, a four-storey cotton mill, had two beam engines, each of 50 H.P.

NEWTOWN, SANDYGATE AND TRAFALGAR STREET AREA.

Pollard's Mill (spinning) stood on the site of the Empire.

Williamson's Mill (spinning) stood at the junction of Cow Lane and Holden Street.

Parker's spinning and weaving mill was at the junction of River Street and Hammerton Street.

Howarth's Mill (spinning) was enlarged to form Mount Pleasant Mill.

Rawlinson's Mill (spinning) is now Proctor's Engineering Works.

Peel's mill, at the bottom of Sandygate, was built in 1790, but was burnt down in 1798.

Massey's Mill in Sandygate was a woollen and worsted mill and was erected about 1820.

Slater's Mills were built about 1840.

Topper's Mill, which was situated behind Westgate Chapel, was erected about 1830, but was destroyed by fire.

Thorneybank Mill, near the Nelson Hotel, was built about 1820 by Crook and later taken over by Shepherd and Graham.

Trafalgar Mill was built by John Massey.

Varley and Pomfret's Mill near Varley Street was built about 1830.

OTHER AREAS.

John Brennand's Mill in Brennand Street and Briercliffe Road was built before 1820.

Marles Mill was originally a brick factory; later the top room was used for spinning.

The Throstle Spinning Mill in Elm Street was run by Matthew Watson.

CONDITIONS IN THE FACTORIES.

The earliest mills were erected before the age of factory legislation and conditions in them were often appalling. Machines were crowded together, no precautions were taken against accidents, flickering candle light ruined the eyesight of operatives, walls were rarely whitewashed, and lack of ventilation helped the spread of consumption and other dreaded diseases. Hours were long and varied from 12 to 18 hours a day, according to the demands of the millowner; an hour was allowed for dinner, but other meals were usually taken "standing." The work was hard and many workers had deformed bodies caused by lifting heavy weights or constantly stooping to attend to the machines.

Such conditions were bad enough for adults but they were disastrous to the future moral spiritual and physical happiness of those children who had to work in the factory. One Burnley seven-year old, for example, generally worked 12 hours a day but every third week he had to work from 4 a.m. to 10 p.m. on two or three days; this occurred in 1820 at a factory in the Salford area.⁽²¹⁾ Even very young children were employed and there are many reports of fathers carrying their children half asleep to the mill doors. It is said that the children were kept up to their work only by the strap of the overlooker. Women shared in the work at the mill and there is one instance of a woman operative at a local mill taking her baby with her and putting it in a cop-tin while she was at the looms.⁽²²⁾ Mr. Ecroyd's report on the condition in his mill at Lomeshaye, which was run on humane principles, is therefore perhaps too flattering to be applied to all the local factories: "A family generally work all together in the factory or shed, the father, sons, and daughters frequently occupying 12, 20 or more looms, all adjoining and thus united at work as at home, all contribute their exertions, from the father and elder brothers with their three looms apiece, down to the little boy or girl who fills the shuttle and sweeps the floor."⁽²³⁾

The employment of children under the age of nine was prohibited by the Act of 1833 but as there were only four factory inspectors appointed for the whole of the country to see that the Act was observed it was fairly easy for most millowners to outwit them. It is said that when a "visitor" came to any mill, word of his arrival was sent to all the neighbouring factories so that there was plenty of time in which to hide the "under-age" children under sacks or bales of waste. The

21. Ev. of late Mr. W. Rawlinson.
22. Blakey—Annals of Barrowford.

23. Farrer papers.

same Act stated that no child between nine and thirteen was to work for more than nine hours a day or forty-eight hours a week; there was to be a meal allowance of one and a half hours and during this time no child was to remain on the factory premises; young people between thirteen and eighteen were limited to twelve hours a day or sixty-nine hours a week; no person under eighteen could work at night in textile factories. The Act of 1833 was one of many that have alleviated the lot of workers. In 1844, machinery had to be provided with guards against accidents; a register of children (9-13) and young people (13-18) working in the factories had to be kept; and children were not to be employed for more than six-and-a-half hours a day.

These Acts were not passed without opposition. Some objected to any reduction of hours and the limitation of the work of children, on the ground that much of the textile operative's labour was mechanical and could easily be performed by children and apprentices; others opposed the reforms on account of the cost entailed in employing adults to do work that could be done by lower-paid workers; and they pointed out that the state of the markets would not allow masters to raise their prices to cover the extra financial burden imposed on the industry. Richard Cobden and others, who were undoubtedly humanitarians at heart, objected to the principle involved in the State interfering with the freedom of parents to put their children into employment as they wished: the individual, they maintained, had a right to make any contract he pleased with any other individual and the State had no moral right to interfere with such a contract.

There was some bitter controversy in Burnley during the Parliamentary debates preceding the "Ten Hours Act" of 1847, which reduced the maximum number of hours a day to be worked by women and young persons (13-18 years old) from twelve to ten. St. Peter's, in common with other Established Churches, supported the proposals to reduce the length of the working day, but many manufacturers, who attended the Nonconformist chapels, took the opposite view. At the same time, a local newspaper, called "The Burnley Bee" which ran for a few months, complained of the leading part taken by the Church in the agitation for the Ten Hours Act.⁽²⁴⁾

In 1850 the normal hours of work for those under 18 years of age had to be performed between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. in summer, or 7 a.m. and 7 p.m. in winter, with an allowance

24. Hammond—The Age of the Chartists
p. 288.

of one and a half hours for meals. It was also decided that the Saturday working time should end at 2 p.m.

These Acts were passed in the interests of women and children, but they had the effect of also alleviating the lot of male adult workers, for the mill-owner found it necessary to close the mill when the women and children left rather than pay men to carry on.

There was undoubtedly a great deal of hardship and misery in some Burnley mills, for long hours and heavy work, bad light and poor ventilation, the standing at the loom and the hurried meals, with the reward of low wages at the week-end created untold suffering. The question of wages will be discussed in a later chapter, but here it may be said that in exceptionally good years (such as those just before 1800) a weaver's wages might be as much as 30/-, that in normal times after 1815 they fluctuated round about 6/- a week, and that in really bad years they sank to 2/6d. In 1833, the average wage for a weaver was 5/6d. a week, and a Lancashire textile manufacturer declared in Parliament that he did not make more than 1d. on each piece of cloth when he paid those wages.⁽²⁵⁾ To add to the difficulty of operatives, many masters stipulated that wages must be spent at certain shops ("tommy-shops") in which they had an interest. The system was open to the gravest abuse, since it gave the master the chance to deduct from the weekly paypacket the cost of groceries and other commodities, or, if debts had accumulated, the worker could be threatened with distraint unless he reduced the debts by working overtime or on other conditions imposed by the employer; in addition, food bought under such conditions, was often of an inferior quality and complaints were frequent. Some firms, including Peels, brewed ale which they retailed to their employees. Dugdales of Lowerhouse had the honourable reputation of selling better and cheaper meal than could be obtained elsewhere.

No written records are available to show how far Burnley manufacturers adopted the custom of contracting with overseers of the poor for the employment of workhouse children as apprentices. A casual remark made in 1867 by Alderman T. T. Wilkinson, who was usually very careful in his statements, implies that large numbers of pauper children of both sexes had been brought into Burnley from other towns to provide cheap labour in the factories.⁽²⁶⁾ It has been stated that one master boasted that the beds of his apprentices were never cold, for as one batch of children went to work, another

came from the mill to sleep. A row of small cottages near the Canal in Sandygate was used to house the apprentices of one firm. The latest authentic record of the importation of workhouse children concerns the arrival of a number of Liverpool children to work in Hopwood's factory in Westgate.⁽²⁷⁾

Not all Burnley masters lacked human understanding and some were comparatively enlightened. One millowner allowed a tipping-match on an occasional Monday afternoon, when the weather was particularly fine;⁽²⁸⁾ another master showed unwonted resignation when the engine regularly broke down at certain times—occasions that coincided with Methodist tea-parties which the engine-tenter wanted to attend.⁽²⁹⁾ One event is worth recording as it shows the attitude of one master, George Barnes, towards his workers. After a very bitter strike of all the Burnley weavers, the men in Barnes' mill subscribed for a present to him as a thank-offering for the help he had given and the kindness he had shown to them.⁽³⁰⁾ Such actions on the part of masters show a humanitarian outlook, but the contemporary summing-up of the character of Burnley manufacturers of 1830-40 as "hard but just" makes one realise that kindness was not a common feature among "factory maisters."

THE MANUFACTURERS.

The personnel of the body of Burnley manufacturers is an interesting study. A curious feature is that nearly all the earliest and many of the later manufacturers originated outside Burnley. The Toppers, Crooks, Grimshaws, and Tunstills were Pendle-born; the Crossleys came from Cliviger and Collinge from Mereclough; Smallpage from Middleham, Yorkshire, and Fielding from Middleton, Manchester; Howorth from Bacup; Baron from Todmorden; the Dugdales, Fishwicks and Tickle from Padiham; and the Lancasters probably from Gisburn. The Peels, Heelis and Ainsworth were really Bolton manufacturers but had warehouses and operatives in Burnley as early as 1790. In fact, it was partly the coming of the Bolton masters that caused the beginning of the decline of the woollen trade in Burnley for they offered higher wages than were given by woollen manufacturers. The gradual adoption of the cotton trade and the separation of Burnley from the woollen industry of Yorkshire was further stimulated by the easier communications with Manchester and Liverpool by the new turnpike roads and the Canal.

27. Evidence of late Mr. Jas. Ashworth.

28. Evidence of Mr. W. Rawlinson.

29. T. Preston—Memories of Top o' th' Town.

30. Evidence of late Mr. Jas. Ashworth.

Most manufacturers were leaders in the nonconformist chapels. An early Massey, the Roberts, an early Fishwick, the Holgates, Toppers and Spencers were members of the Established Church, but by far the greater number of Burnley masters belonged to the Wesleyan body—the later Fishwicks, John Hargreaves, Hopwoods, Lancasters, Fielding, Howorths, Barnes, Eltofts, Tunstills, Kays, Dugdales and Smallpages, to name only a few. The Althams, Waltons and Emmetts were Baptists, Proctors and Barons belonged to the United Methodist Church, Lord Massey and Lomas were Congregationalists. The Catholics were represented by the Veevers, Folds and Whithams.

Another interesting feature is the large number of manufacturers who started from very small beginnings as ordinary tradesmen to become the leaders in Burnley's most important industries. For example, James Howorth was apprenticed to a grocer and draper, started a shop of his own and then launched forth in the cotton industry; Collinge at one time kept the toll-bar at Eastgate, sold books and periodicals, entered the furnishing trade and then the cotton trade; Lomas was a grocer in Church Street before he built "Pentridge" Mill. The building of mills in ever increasing size was made possible by "cheap" money to be obtained from Holgate's Bank or its successor the Craven Bank or from the first Burnley Building Society. In 1814 Holgates advanced £400 on the security of a house worth £150 and in 1825 the Craven Bank loaned £2,000 on the security of a mill valued at £1,500.⁽³¹⁾ In the Home Office Papers for 1817 it is reported that "A very great evil about Blackburn and Burnley is the number of weavers who, owing to the late facility of obtaining credit and County Bank paper, have become small manufacturers." The trouble was that these small manufacturers vied with each other in reducing wages and overhead charges so that they could secure contracts by quoting cheaper prices. Such a policy was safe as long as there was an expanding market and the weavers were content to endure their conditions, but in periods of a trade depression, wages fell still lower with the inevitable civil disturbance; unemployment was rife as operatives were dismissed; poor rates increased and often enough the small master was unable to continue. Larger manufacturers were able to hold out except in the worst times. Mr. J. Rawlinson stated in 1876 "Of all the (cotton) firms in existence in 1824, only 52 years ago, not one exists at the present time, and in four instances only are the descendants of the cotton spinners and manufacturers of that time engaged in the same trade as their forefathers."⁽³²⁾

31. Deeds in possession of Mr. James Stanworth, Reedley.

32. Rawlinson—Rise and Progress of Burnley.

THE MILLS OF 1850.

The following is a list of mills known to have been in existence in 1850:—⁽³³⁾

Cotton:—

Barnes Bros. ... Bankfield and Hill Top.	Pollard J. ... Calder Street.
Bracewell ... Newtown.	Roberts & Walton ... Walker Hey.
Brennand ... Rakehead.	Roberts, Wm. ... Whinn Hill.
Clegg, R. & A. ... Keighley Green.	Sellers, J. & J. ... Healey Royd.
Dugdales ... Lowerhouse.	Shaw, T. ... Sandygate.
Fielding ... Bridge Street.	Slater, G. ... Sandygate.
Fletcher ... Burnley Wood.	Smallpage, J. & N. ... Lane Bridge & Pickup Croft.
Folds ... Rishton Mill.	Smallpage, S. ... Hammerton St.
Hanson ... Brown Street.	Spencer & Moore ... Parsonage.
Harrison ... Queen St. Mill.	Tunstill, H. ... Goodham Hill.
Hartley ... Queen St. Mill.	Walker, J. & Co. Salford Mill.
Holgate, J. & G. Turn Bridge Mill.	Watson, S. ... Bridge Street.
Houldsworth ... Newtown.	Williamson & Harling ... Lane Bridge.
Howarth, T. (exors.) ... Brown Street.	Wilson, W. ... Lane Bridge.
Hopwood, H. ... Hopwood St.	Whittam, F. ... Heasandford.
Law, John ... Scar Top.	
Pickering Bros. Spring Garden Mill.	

Worsted and Wool:—

Howard, R. & J. Brown Street.	Howarth, J. & Sons ... Mt. Pleasant.
Howard, S. ... Healey Wood Mill.	

DOMESTIC TEXTILE WORKERS.

Though so much has been written in the preceding paragraphs about Burnley factories, it should be remembered that as far as weaving was concerned, there were far more domestic weavers than factory weavers. It has been estimated that in 1830 there were three times as many cottage weavers as factory weavers. The conditions in the homes are therefore more important than the conditions in the mills.

The state of the domestic textile industry in 1750 was much as it had been for the past century and may here be recapitulated by quoting from a contemporary document:⁽³⁴⁾ "The workshop of the weaver was a rural cottage, from which when he was tired of sedentary labour he could sally forth into his little garden, and with the spade or the hoe tend its culinary productions. The cotton wool which was to form his weft was picked clean by the fingers of his younger children,

33. Directory.

34. Quoted in *The Skilled Labourer* (Hammond) p. 50.

and was carded and spun by the older girls assisted by his wife, and the yarn was woven by himself assisted by his sons. When he could not procure within his family a supply of yarn adequate to the demands of his loom, he had recourse to the spinsters of the neighbourhood. One good weaver could keep three active women at work upon the wheel, spinning weft."

Such an apparently happy condition in the cottage did not last long after 1750, since Hargreaves' spinning jenny superseded the spinning wheel and even those households which had managed to acquire one of the smaller jennies soon found too much for them the competition of the factories with their larger jennies, water frames and mules.

The family budget was therefore very seriously affected by the new system, for, deprived of any income from spinning, the main source of livelihood depended on the handloom. Fortunately for Burnley cottage handloom weavers, factories equipped with power-looms were comparatively rare up to 1830, and though there were several factories with handlooms, the cottage weaver managed to earn a living in spite of the competition. Actually, the introduction of machine-spinning was not an unmixed evil, for instead of the weaver having often to walk miles to secure his supplies of spun yarn, there was so much yarn now available that spinners sought out weavers. Naturally, such conditions only operated when the markets were good; when trade was depressed, all weavers, whether they were independent, worked for a "putter-out," or wove in a factory, suffered considerable distress. The most prosperous time occurred during the last twelve years of the 18th century—a period known as "The Weaver's Golden Age," when the wages of an ordinary weaver reached £1 a week with correspondingly higher amounts for weavers of muslin and silk. When wages fell after 1815 to a bare subsistence level, weavers looked back with longing to those days when "greasy broth" was common fare in every cottage. It was during that same period of prosperity that many of the stone-built "handloom weavers' cottages" were built, many of which are still to be seen; usually they are in rows and have one large room downstairs with flagged floor, windows back and front, a small scullery, and stone stairs leading to the large bedroom upstairs. There were generally two handlooms downstairs, but many instances are recorded where the bedroom also had its handlooms with just sufficient room between them for the family to sleep. Some handloom weavers lived in three- or four-storeyed houses which were leased out in flats. According to the Burnley Poor Law records, it was nothing uncommon for a family to have four, five, or even six looms in the house.

The domestic handloom weaver had certain advantages denied to the factory operative. He was his own master as far as his hours of work were concerned and he could work or play as he wanted for he was not "tee'd to a bell"; in fact, it is said that Burnley handloom weavers regarded the first working-day of the week as "St. Monday" and therefore a traditional holiday—a position they could only have taken up in really good times when wages were high. "The Golden Age" of the weaver did not last long for as new factories were built and equipped with power-looms which could weave faster and cheaper than ever before, the domestic weaver found his wages sinking lower than those of the factory operatives. In 1830, for example, a cottage handloom weaver could earn 7/6d. a week for weaving one piece, but a factory weaver could earn 12/6d. a week by weaving five pieces at 2/6d. a piece. The worst period for handloom weavers occurred in 1826 when the average weekly wage was 1/6d.; at such times, the overseers of the poor insisted that the wife should take a share in the heavy handloom weaving.⁽³⁵⁾

Burnley cotton masters employed handloom weavers in villages as far away as Barnoldswick. Sometimes, the master took out the raw material to the village and brought back the woven cloth; at other times, the weavers themselves came to Burnley to bring in their cloth and take back the weft to be used during the following week. Prominent among the Burnley masters who employed cottage handloom weavers were John Moore, William Hargreaves, William Roberts, Mr. Lancaster, Mr. Holt (probably John Holt, a shopkeeper in Finsleygate) and John Greenwood.

THE CLOTH MARKETS.

Large manufacturers of woollens and worsteds usually had agents in London who sold the cloth to foreign buyers. Many of them also sold their cloth at Halifax Piece Hall. This cloth market was erected in 1779 and had some 315 rooms which were occupied by the manufacturers as store- and sale-rooms. The rooms were situated in the top storey known as the "Colonnade," in the lower gallery or the "Rustic," and in the bottom storey on the east side of the "Arcade"; down below and in the middle of the Hall was the "Area" where independent small weavers brought their two or three pieces for sale. Here, merchants from the Continent and from the great towns of England came to buy at the market every Saturday morning. A manufacturer leased a

35. Select Vestry Accnts.

room from the owner for about £2 a year or bought one by auction at an average cost of £30. Weavers in the area paid 1d. on each piece they brought into the Hall for sale. The Directory of the Piece Hall of 1787 gives the names of a great number of manufacturers who had rooms, but does not often state where the manufacturer carried on his business; the only references to Burnley are as follows:—The Rustic. Room 76. Stephen and William Smith, both of “near Burnley” (probably of Haggate). The Colonnade. Room 108. James Hoyle of Burnley. According to tradition, Burnley weavers were often to be seen trudging the long weary miles to Halifax to sell their cloth at the Piece Hall. The Cloth Hall at Colne was built in 1775 and had 190 stalls or stands. The market was held on Wednesdays and it continued until the woollen industry left this part of Lancashire. It was probably used by small manufacturers from Burnley far more than the Halifax market.

For many years there was no regular centre for the disposal of cotton goods and large makers used agents at the ports and in the larger towns. A member of the firm of Masseys visited America every second year to make business contacts.⁽³⁶⁾ Smaller manufacturers sold their goods to chapmen who put them on any convenient market. Independent small weavers often carried their goods as far as Preston and Liverpool, where they obtained better prices. It is said that they carried packs of cloth weighing 60 lbs. to Liverpool and walked both ways since they could not afford to hire a horse or travel by coach. Some independent weavers used the services of a local agent who made a living by buying raw material in Manchester for the weavers and selling the finished cloth on commission. Two such Burnley commission agents in the early 19th century were Henry o’ Jeremy’s (Hargreaves) of Church Street⁽³⁷⁾ and Geoffrey Eastwood of Keighley Green.⁽³⁸⁾

COAL.

The demand for local coal was considerably increased by the rapid growth of the town population and the introduction of steam power into textile factories and corn mills. As long as the major part of the population lived in farms and the adjacent cottages, the limited quantities of coal could be eked out by the use of turf and fallen wood, but when factories were built in the town, and houses were crowded thickly round

36. Trader, March 16th, 1927.

37. Preston—Memories of Top o’ th’ Town.

38. Directory of 1818.

them to accommodate the workers, a greater supply of coal became an absolute necessity since such people were then divorced from the land and the ancient sources of fuel. Steam engines, too, created a demand for coal out of all proportion to their number since they used far more coal per horse-power than would be the case at the present time. In addition, the need for more coal was increased by the introduction in Burnley, in 1819, of the use of coal-gas for lighting purposes, and, rather later, by the custom of burning coal in ovens, solely to make coke for foundries. There was also some lime-burning which needed local coal.

The records⁽³⁹⁾ of the early 19th century show the existence of coalmines in areas that are now the most congested parts of Burnley—five in the area of Yorkshire Street, Gunsmith Lane and Plumbe Street, three in Pickup Croft and Lane Bridge, one in Hammerton Street, one on Bank Parade, one in the Market Place, one on the site of Baldwin's Brush Factory in Curzon Street, and one in Bridge Street; others were to be found in March Street, Brougham Street, Canning Street and Faraday Street. There were other mines in the vicinity of Burnley—above Habergham Farm, at Brookfoot, on the site of Padiham Railway Station, at Overtown, near the Long Causeway, at Quaker Bridge, above Hollin Bank (Brierfield), and near Deerplay. Of the coalmines that have been mentioned in Chapter III, the Plumbe Street mine carried on until almost the middle of the 19th century, and that on the site of the Victoria Theatre was working in 1827; the mine in the croft behind the Bull Inn and the one at Kibble Bank had ceased to work soon after 1800.

The collieries of this period were rather larger than those of 1700-1750, but they were still quite small, especially when compared with modern mines. Only one pit, the "Drift Pit," which ran under the Canal and was approached by a road from near the Rose and Thistle, was worked on the old principle of cutting a tunnel into the hillside in order to reach and follow the coal seam. All other mines seem to have been narrow shafts which varied from 30 to 60 yards in depth; workings radiated from the shaft for only short distances. The mine on Bank Parade was 61 yards deep⁽⁴⁰⁾ and possibly those in Curzon Street and Plumbe Street were a little deeper. In the smaller mines, coal was hoisted in buckets by hempen rope and windlass, but in the larger mines, a steam engine was installed; the mine in Curzon Street had "headsticks" and one winding wheel.⁽⁴¹⁾ Ventilation was usually effected by a fire

39. Maps and deeds.

40. Ev. of Mr. W. Bell, architect.

41. From photograph.

at the bottom of the air-shaft which caused air to be brought down the working-shaft, where it was deflected by doors and sacking to the various faces and thence to the air-shaft through which it rose to the surface. When the Clifton Mine was first opened, ventilation was obtained by the aid of water which drained out of the abandoned "Sand Hoile (Hole) Mine"; the water carried down with it air as it passed through small holes in a metal frame or cylinder, the accumulated air then being passed through the newly-opened mine.⁽⁴²⁾ Drainage in the largest mines was effected by a steam pump. In the low gallery workings, the roof was supported where necessary by short props with cross pieces fixed to them with rough mortise and tenon joints. Tallies, or flat, oval-shaped pieces of wood, notched at the sides in various patterns, were used to mark the "tubs" of coal as they were sent to the surface by the individual miners.

The number of colliers employed was very small. It is recorded that at Halifax in the early 18th century there were no more than six "getters" and six boys in each pit. A closer approximation to the number of Burnley colliers may perhaps be deduced from the fact that in 1817 the Reverend John Hargreaves, the owner of the Burnley pits, "owing to a depression in trade and a reduction in both the sale and price of coal" decided to reduce the number of working colliers to fifty.⁽⁴³⁾ Mr. Kneeshaw has suggested 300 as the number of colliers at this time.

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, wages were very low, hours were long, and discontent prevailed; in fact, the colliers were among the first to show their grievances by organising processions and holding illegal meetings. Conditions in the mines became steadily worse as the century advanced and mines became deeper, bigger, and more numerous. Wages were often paid on the "buddy" system, whereby a miner contracted to extract from his own "stall" a definite quantity of coal at an agreed price. Often enough, when work was scarce, the buddy sublet his stall and made a profit; at other times, the miner in order to complete his "stint" brought in his children to drag full baskets of coal along the low galleries to the loading-point, or, where the height of the roof permitted, pull along the underground road a full tub of coal by means of a chain fastened round the middle of the boy's body while another boy "thrust" at the tub from behind. The social conditions of the miners was forcefully described by a writer in 1842⁽⁴⁴⁾—"These last (the miners) are a race in

42. Papers of late Exors of Hargreaves
Coll. Co.

44. Lancashire Itinerary p. xxix.
43. Ibid.

Lancashire much demoralised and abandoned to the ignorance very nearly of a state of nature. Whole families—fathers, mothers, and children of tender age—horses and asses together, being occupied, a large proportion of their lives in the bowels of the earth, executing the task-work which the head of the family undertakes to perform and the wages of which compose the sole ambition and end of a degrading existence.”

The Burnley coalmines were owned by the Reverend John Hargreaves of Bank Hall. He had inherited the Fulledge mines (including those in Coal Street and Pickup Croft) from his wife, the widow of Henry Blackmore of Fulledge House, and had purchased from the Crown in 1797 the leasehold of all other mines in Burnley. The Towneley family developed the mines on their own estate; those existing in 1800 were known as Overtown Pit, Turner Carr Level, and Bankwell Level, the whole having an annual rateable value of £300.⁽⁴⁵⁾

IRON FOUNDRIES, LOOM-MAKING AND HARDWARE INDUSTRIES.

In the early part of the 19th century there were no large scale enterprises nor even an exceptional number of small firms engaged in the iron industry, but this section has been introduced because such trades formed a most important part of Burnley's industrial life in the late 19th century. Unfortunately, all the details of these industries, as far as the earlier part of their history is concerned, have to be drawn from the scanty and incomplete lists in the Directories.

Of the iron-founders, John Crook in 1800 had a foundry behind the Cuckoo Mill at the junction of the Brun and Calder which existed under his ownership until 1827 when it became the property of John Howarth. John Crook was probably a near relative of William Crook, iron manufacturer and iron merchant of 1792, who lived near the Clock Face Inn and a member of the firm of Crook and Dixon who had an iron and brass foundry in 1818 near the junction of St. James' Street and Bridge Street. Very early in the 19th century, Messrs. Holt and Law ran a foundry (as well as a small factory) at the junction of Cannon Street and Bridge Street and in 1806 John and Benjamin Cooper were iron-founders at Lane Bridge. John Cooper was a Roman Catholic and a former land-agent to the Towneley family. The two largest firms were those of James Marsland in King Street and Pitt Street (the Meadows) and of Thomas Smith in Foundry Street, the

45. Cliviger Rate Book.

old name for the Manchester Road end of Finsleygate. Mr. James Marsland began the building of his foundry in 1817; he lived near Springfield House in Todmorden Road and with his sons leased from the Incumbent of Burnley nearly an acre of land, on which he built his house, and about three acres in Tarleton Street on which houses were built about 1850 at the time that area was being developed. Mr. Marsland was proud of his workmen and regaled them at his home on bread, cheese and ale when they happened to be passing on the firm's business.⁽⁴⁶⁾

The earliest "cotton-machine and wheel-makers" were John Sagar and John Webster. The machines here referred to were carding and spinning machines. John Sagar lived in 1792 at the end of Brown Street and John Webster in Church Street. Their names do not occur in 1818 and the only "machine-maker and joiner" of that year was Edmund Whittaker of Goodham Hill and later of Cheapside. In 1824 there were ten machine-making firms—George and William Ashworth, whose successors in 1850 took over Hudson's spinning mill in Firth Street and Aqueduct Street which they named "Vulcan Works"⁽⁴⁷⁾ and where they made palisades; James and Charles Hargreaves, and Thomas and Henry Whittaker (also wood-turners); Henry Hodgson (later in 1830 Graham's) and Thomas Smith in Foundry Street; John Holt, the iron founder, of Bridge Street; William Taylor of Brown Street; Edmund Whittaker of Cheapside; John Wilkinson (now Butterworth and Dickinson) in Saunderbank and John Williamson in Exmouth Street, Finsleygate.

Blacksmiths were well represented. Four are listed in 1792 but only one of them, a Radcliffe, whose smithy was near the White Lion, followed the same occupation in 1800. In 1800 first occurs the name of John Swainson whose smithy still stands opposite School Lane. In 1824, ten blacksmiths are named: John Swainson, James Carter of Healey, Christopher Gibson of Calder Street, Thomas Hargreaves of Cheapside, John Nelson of Parker Lane, William Pollard of Manchester Road and Church Street, John Simpson of "Gannow Lane End," Henry Thornber of Yorkshire Street and James Wood of Brown Street. Tinsmiths were represented by Simon Harker 1792, James Eastham, whose shop was near the present Electricity Showroom, William Proctor of Vulcan Street and James Wood (also a blacksmith) of Brown Street 1824. Hand-made nails were obtained from the workshops of Thomas Whittaker 1792, James Eastham, John Howarth and Samuel Hindle, all of St. James' Street, 1824.

46. Ev. of late Mr. Aspinall.

47. Deeds in possession of Mr. Jas. Stanworth, Reedley.

CORN MILLS.

Corn milling was at one time an important Burnley industry but it began to decline when supplies of wheat and oats were only to be obtained from districts far removed from Burnley.

The oldest corn mill was the King's Mill in Bridge Street, leased from the Crown by the Shuttleworths at a rent of £3/6/8d. The latter sublet the mill to tenants; thus, John Taylor (died 1718) was the miller, then Taylor's son-in-law, John Halstead, and after him, about 1780, Halstead's son-in-law, William Crook. Henry Crook, son of William, built Swallow Hall (now the Market Tavern), took over the lease of the King's Mill in 1805, built the Old Brewery in 1802, and carried on the family business in cotton and wool in the adjacent mill which was 12 yards long and eight yards broad. It was driven by a waterwheel which got the water from a lodge at the bottom of Bridge Street, immediately in front of the mill; the lodge was supplied by a goyt running from the Brun in the Nurseries at Queen's Park. The Shuttleworth deeds show that the goyt was constructed in 1717. A steam engine was installed about 1820.

In 1835 an interesting lawsuit was fought by the tenant of the corn mill, Thomas Woodhead, at the instance of Janet Shuttleworth of Gawthorpe to compel all Burnley copyholders to recognise two ancient rights attached to the mill—first, that certain copyhold tenants were liable for the maintenance of the goyt, and second, that all copyholders of Burnley, Ightenhill, Habergham Eaves, Little Marsden, Briercliffe; Reedley Hallows, and certain parts of Pendle Forest should bring all their corn to be ground at the mill.

The first claim was put forward because the Brewery and the adjacent woollen mill were sharing the use of the goyt, a position that was satisfactory only so long as one firm, Crooks, owned all three buildings. Matthew Greenwood, miller for Henry Crook 1814-1823, said in evidence that the corn mill worked by night when the other businesses were not taking the water and that even when steam-engines were installed the difficulty was not overcome. When the firm of Crook and Co. was dissolved, the new tenant of the corn mill brought his lawsuit to compel certain landowners to "support" the dam and goyt and provide sufficient water according to the manorial conditions of copyhold land. They refused because of the various mills near it which were using the water. Woodhead's claim failed. The second plea was raised because some farmers took their corn to be ground at one or other of three Burnley mills which had been built since 1800. The

evidence showed that these mills had introduced steam-power between 1822 and 1825. On this point also, the Court's decision was against Woodhead.⁽⁴⁸⁾

The next oldest corn mill in Burnley was erected in 1809 in Basket Street by two brothers, Robinson and John Greenwood. The partnership was dissolved in 1824 when John built a corn mill at Gannow; he had previously in 1811 bought a cotton mill with steam engine in Goodham Hill. The Basket Street mill continued under Robinson Greenwood and his son, another Robinson, until it was taken over in 1846 as the Pickup Croft Spinning Mill by James Smallpage and John Lord at a rental of £396 with the use of the engine.⁽⁴⁹⁾

Robinson Greenwood lived in St. James' Street between Bridge Street and Market Street with Henry Smith, grocer and draper, as one neighbour and Robert Lupton, grocer and President of the Burnley Building Society, as the other. As a miller, he had to visit Yorkshire markets in order to secure corn for milling. He was involved in the failure of Holgate's Bank in 1824 and had to ask the help of several friends in order to meet a cheque for a fairly large sum which he had drawn on the Bank. When he died in 1842 he left to his eldest son the corn mill, household goods, six cottages near the mill, boats (used for Canal traffic) and shares in the Canal; to his other children (William, James, corn miller at Cliviger, John, a miller, and Jonathan, soda-water manufacturer) he bequeathed sums of money varying from £500 to £1,000.⁽⁵⁰⁾

John Greenwood lived at Palace House, though his official place of business was in Blucher Street (Church Street end of the present Centre).

The corn mill at Hill Top was built about 1838 by John Butterworth who had been an assistant to Mr. Whittaker, supervisor of tolls and turnpikes. The miller lived at Springfield House, but sold the mill in 1870 to Messrs. John Greenwood and Sons, and retired to Southport.

OTHER TRADES AND INDUSTRIES.

The increased rate of building of both houses and mills in the early 19th century provided an incentive for the erection of lime-kilns near the Canal at Hill Top, and in Bank-house Street, and for the making of brick-works near the present Brick Street, in Barden Lane, and also near Duke

48. rarer papers.

49. Deeds in possession of Mr. Jas. Stan-
worth, Reedley.

50. Copy in Central Library.

Bar. The number of building operatives increased substantially and several large building firms came into existence. One very important firm was that of James Folds, who bought land from the Hitchons and on it erected Rishton Mill, where Folds built his own house, the now-demolished Star Inn at the bottom of Gunsmith Lane, and most of the mill and cottage property between Church Street and the Culvert. There was also the firm of Thomas and Richard Chaffers, surveyors, estate agents, builders and quarrymen. Thomas Chaffers lived at Rowley and Richard lived at Adlington House later known as the "Coach and Horses." Their building yard, which contained a very large quantity of timber, was known as Chaffer's Yard and was situated off Adlington Street; the Chaffers also owned Adlington Farm and farmed the land up to the Canal and Godley Lane Bridge. As builders, they erected most of the property in the Park, particularly in Robert Street, Mosley Street, and Master Street. The largest timber merchant was William Fishwick, son of Webster Fishwick, who had his yard in Foundry Street. John Robinson of Manchester Road was a Burnley builder of 1824 but nothing is known of his activities.

The main plumbers and glaziers were the Fletcher family who had shops and work-sheds near the Hall Inn and in Robert's Square, off Water Street. One of the family, Norton Fletcher, entered the cotton industry and built in 1844 Handbridge Mill in Todmorden Road. There were nine painters and plasterers, of whom three were also paper-hangers. The services of the paper-hanger were limited to the wealthy for rooms in nearly all cottages were whitewashed. Furniture making was a thriving industry for there were nine cabinet makers and chair makers, of whom three were upholsterers.

Many Burnley men apparently paid great attention to their personal appearance with the result that there were no fewer than 21 tailors in the town, some of whom made a special feature of their skill in the making of breeches. Gentlemen could wear a Burnley-made wig, have it scented with perfume made by one of three Burnley perfumers, or have their hair dressed in one of several hairdressing saloons; for their head-gear they could buy hats made by three Burnley manufacturers. Burnley ladies had the choice of 17 different establishments, including the fashionable Miss Demaine's, for their millinery and dresses; even Burnley-made straw hats could be bought from three women who specialised in such work. Stay-making was an old Burnley industry and in 1824 was represented by William Catton of Chancery Street and W.

Thompson of Manchester Road. Boots, shoes, clogs, and patens were made by nearly 30 firms, and if none could be found to fit in the shops and workshops, the buyer could visit three shoe warehouses, one of which was kept by Ralph Houlding.

There was no lack of shopping facilities, for in addition to the market, there were many butchers, grocers, drapers, and ironmongers, but only two fishmongers; even glass, china and earthenware could be bought and the enthusiastic gardener could seek the advice of seven nurserymen and seed-sellers. Four chemists and druggists provided herbs and patent medicines for those who were unwilling to consult any of the five Burnley medical men. Nor was the reading public forgotten since Tabitha Akroyd of Yorkshire Street had a subscription library and Walker Gilbertson, bookseller and printer, kept a circulating library at 75, St. James' Street, where his brother carried on a druggist's business. In addition to Walker Gilbertson, there were two other printers, stationers and bookbinders, Thomas Sutcliffe, T. Thornton and Thomas Rickard; in 1798 Thornton printed and published a very large book of 1,178 pages entitled "Burkett's Expository Notes on the New Testament."⁽⁵⁰⁾ Most families had a weekly "baking-day" so that there were only five confectioners and bakers in the town.

The leather trade was extensively carried on by Webster Fishwick of Bank Street, Richard Crossley of Bank Street, John Lord, John and Robert Watson, and John Riley, all of Rakefoot. There were four saddlers, John Broxup, Nathaniel Firth, who lived a few doors away from the Bull Inn, James Sharphouse and William Smith; the last mentioned made wooden saddles.

An industry that has now died out was the making of pottery: in 1792, William Ingham of Church Street was "a potter." In Cliviger there were two firms, one controlled by Widow Smith on Robin Cross Hill, and the other by James Walmesley, who was rated at £35 a year on his works. A Burnley industry allied to pottery but which has completely disappeared, was the making of clay pipes; two makers are known by name, Buckley, who hawked his wares in a little cart drawn by dogs, and the McCabes, who lived near the Bull and Butcher; the latter were the last local representatives of the pipe-making industry.

SUMMARY.

The industrial changes that have been outlined in this chapter represent the greatest advance that Burnley has yet made towards its present position as an important manufacturing town. For centuries, progress had been comparatively slow, but after 1780, changes came with phenomenal rapidity, completely altering within a few years the ancient character of the town. Agriculture ceased to be the main source of livelihood for its inhabitants, and even the ancient woollen industry, that had linked Burnley with Yorkshire, died out and was replaced by the cotton trade with its connections with Manchester and Liverpool; the almost rural cottage industry of spinning had disappeared before the new factory machines, while handloom weavers waged a long but unsuccessful fight against the encroaching menace of the power-loom. The town increased in size as new houses were built to accommodate the immigrants who came to seek work in the mills and workshops. Coalmining became more important than ever before and every trade and industry expanded to meet the needs of the ever-growing population.

CHAPTER IX.

Burnley, 1800-1850.

As the number of factories, workshops, and subsidiary trades and industries increased, there was a proportionate increase in the number of new houses that had to be built for the workers. Some of the families that came to live in Burnley at this time were not altogether strangers for they had removed from neighbouring farm cottages to live near the mills so that so much time and energy would not be wasted in the long and dreary tramp, often in the dark, to and from the mill. Other families came from the Pendle villages, Cliviger, Walshaw, Briercliffe, and from places as far away as Barnoldswick, Bacup, and Grassington. Irish immigrants also came to swell the numbers; at first, the men came and lived in common lodging houses, and then, when they had found work and settled down, they sent for their families. As a consequence of the immigration, there was something of a building boom in the first half of the 19th century and the physical aspect of the town was changed almost beyond recognition.

Generally speaking, building activity in Burnley during 1780-1850 can be divided into two periods. In the first period, which closed about 1800, houses were erected which closely followed the plan and design of the handloom weavers' cottage; they show some degree of comfort and were built before the worst phases of the Industrial Revolution had been reached. After 1800 came the second period with the erection of back-to-back houses, cellar dwellings, tenement houses, grouped together to form dismal streets or arranged round a narrow court to form a compact group, variously designated as a "Square," "Court," or "Place." These quickly became the slums and have fortunately disappeared for the most part; many still remember the worst features of Salford, Wapping and Robert's Square, Hill Top, Lane Bridge, Thorneybank and Finsleygate, and they will recollect the distressing appearance of the tenement houses in Brown Street and Charles Street: with these districts are to be classified the crowded areas of Pickup Croft, Aqueduct Street and Ship Alley. A third period of house building in Burnley was introduced a little after 1850 by the development of the Accrington Road and Fulledge districts, with their long rows of "lobbayed" houses boasting of a yard or two of "front" garden and the monotonous and regular streets of four-roomed cottages, all built to the same design.

Such were the characteristic homes of Burnley artisans in the 19th century—the comparatively roomy houses of the late 18th century; the airless and sunless houses of the early 19th century with their insanitary flats, damp cellar dwellings and stifling back-to-back cottages; and shortly after 1850, the better designed but monotonous houses of regularly planned streets. It is remarkable how these varying types coincided with the character of the factories. The “Club-houses” were contemporary with the very early mills in Salford; the slums of Brown Street, Wapping, Keighley Green, the Park, Sandygate, Hill Top, Finsleygate, Lane Bridge and Thorneybank housed the operatives of near-by factories which had been erected during the worst period of the Industrial Revolution; the houses in the Accrington Road district and in Fulledge were erected for the workers in the largest and newest mills.

The building of houses for leaders of industry, professional men, and wealthy tradesmen also made great progress. Some sought to live in terraces such as Bank Parade and Prospect Place, or quiet houses in Hargreaves Street, Grimshaw Street and Crow Nest; others were more ambitious and erected Oakmount, Rockwood, Rosehill, Tarleton and Reedley Grove, far removed from the noise and dirt of industry.

BURNLEY IN 1800.⁽¹⁾

In this section, a description will be given of the physical aspect firstly of the outlying areas and secondly of the town itself, as they appeared in 1800. Few changes however occurred in the immediate neighbourhood of the town during the 18th century, and therefore only the salient features in the different districts need comment and description.

Beginning with the area in Colne Road above Duke Bar, James Whittaker, owner of the Sun Inn, farmed Waterbarn Farm, which had fields bearing the curious names of “Rand Hill Well Field,” “Black Dykes,” and “Alehouse Field.” The Lodge Farm was tenanted by Christopher Hartley, who was a clothier as well as farmer. Near the old workhouse at the Colne Road end of Brennand Street, John Halstead of “New House” (on the site of the present Yorkshire Hotel) had a barn and five acres of pasture land. There

1. The whole of this section has been based on the official Rate Valuation Book of 1800, and articles and lectures by Mr. Richard Charles, Mr. James Grant, Mr. William Aspinall, and Mr. Thomas Preston. The authorities, however, do not always agree about certain details; in such cases, the contemporary Directories have been consulted in order to arrive at a probable solution of the many difficulties. These remarks apply particularly to the details concerning the occupants of certain houses.

were no buildings other than farms in the whole district and the most important development since 1700 had been the construction of Colne Road as part of the Blackburn-Addingham Trust Road. This served to develop the land for building sites late in the 19th century.

In Briercliffe Road, Lane Head was a hamlet of approximately 30 families, mostly engaged in the handloom weaving industry; the weavers lived in the cottages at Kibble Bank and in three-storeyed houses near the Black Bull; The inn was also a farm with land stretching towards Bullion's Close and was tenanted by James Read. The principal farmer of Lane Head was John Proctor who farmed Kibble Bank, Well Head, and the Spout. Halgh Head with Jackson's Fields was tenanted by Nicholas Lacy.

Below Lane Head, the following farms were in existence: Clough's Tenement (near the junction of Casterton Avenue and Briercliffe Road) with six acres; Mrs. Hitchon's Tenement (near the Coronation Mill) with a cornfield of $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres and pasture land of five acres, tenanted by Luke Kay; Swinglehurst of nine acres, tenanted by John Kay; the Duke of York Inn (and cottage) with fields in the present Brennand Street and Swinglehurst Lane: the inn was rated at £6 a year and the farm at £25. In this area also, there were no buildings other than those connected with farms.

Below Duke Bar, two important changes were to be seen—the Canal had been constructed and Ebenezer Chapel had been built. There were three farms near the highway: Marles Farm of 39 acres, owned by Webster Fishwick, the tanner; Bank Hall, a large stone-built house, erected in 1785 to replace the ancient farmstead; the very small Hebrew Hall or Farm with $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres on the "N.W. side of Dippers Chapel." The rest of the area was divided into small fields belonging to the inns and farms situated in the town. Thomas Brooks of the Clock Face had his barn and stables near the Hall Inn but he had a field of three acres near the present Colne Road Library; Thomas Crossley of the Talbot had a small croft of one acre near the Canal bridge and a field of seven acres, from which the clay was dug for brick-making; James Eastwood of the White Horse had " $\frac{1}{2}$ acre up to the Chapel" and " $\frac{1}{2}$ acre of ropewalk, garden and croft at the back of the house." A six-acre farm, called "Pollard's in the Fields," was situated at the junction of Burns Street and Belgrave Street; it had a field of $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres "adjoining Cronkshaw Meadow."

There were very few cottages and buildings in the district. In Hebrew Road, there were three cottages owned

by John Folds and four others owned by "Gothwaite of Liverpool." These cottages were very small, for their assessments varied from 35s. a year to 12s. (See footnote).⁽²⁾ Two better houses, assessed at 45/- a year, stood near the Chapel. A little nearer the town was John Whittaker's workshop and buildings, assessed at £10, while on the Canal bank was the warehouse and wharf with the "store room" where Peggy Dean lived, who was summoned for refusing to pay arrears of tithe amounting to 1/3d.; her son was a boatman on the Canal. Further down Colne Road was Bank Hall with the grounds round the house, Cronkshaw Meadows (opposite the house), Shorey, "Cockpits on the west side of the road" (near the Grammar School) and two limekilns—all of an annual rateable value of £150. On what is now "Station Approach," a narrow field-path in 1800 leading to a coalpit, there were two small houses, called "The Cottages in the Fields"; here lived a family named Bridge.

The Stoneyholme side of Burnley was practically all pasture land divided between four farms. The Old Hall, which is still in existence in Oswald Street, had 70 acres and was tenanted by Widow Halstead; the New Hall, which stood on the site of New Hall Mill, had 58 acres, and was farmed by Richard Hartley; it had a "Coalpit Field" and a cornfield of $\frac{3}{4}$ acre. Daneshouse, which stood on Saxon Street, had 32 acres with fields called "Leonard Field," "Hag Field," "Cook Lane," and "Tenter Croft"; the latter name suggests a woollen industry at Daneshouse. The Stoneyholme section of the Bankhouse estate was comprised of "Stoney Holme" of about five acres, and "The Island." Stoneyholme Shed is now built on part of the "Stoney Holme" and the name "Island" refers to two adjoining fields across the river, now occupied by Stoneyholme Recreation Ground. These are clearly seen on the 1759 map of the Bankhouse estate.⁽³⁾ The 1800 Valuation Book refers to "Higher Small Island in potatoes on the opposite side of the water" of $\frac{1}{2}$ acre, and "The Lower Small Island in potatoes on the opposite side of the water" of $\frac{1}{2}$ acre. The Bankhouse estate, owned by the Incumbent of St. Peter's and tenanted in 1800 by Mr. Rothwell, dyer, had not yet been developed and what are now the congested areas of Stoneyholme and Bankhouse were pasture fields.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER NINE.

2. All assessments are taken from the Rate Valuation Book of 1800. They are important because it is possible from them to form a fair estimate of (a) the comparative size of dwelling houses, and (b) the comparative trade value of shops, of inns, and of factories. A house in Brown Street was assessed at £3 a year; a cellar in Cannon Street at £1; a one-roomed, thatched cottage at 5/-; a stable and hayloft in the town at £2/2/-; a stable at 10/-; the smithy opposite the bottom of School Lane at 10/-.
3. In the Museum at Towneley Hall.

The estates of the Townley Parkers of Royle were very extensive. In Burnley, the family possessed Royle with 136 acres, New Hall (58 a.), Old Hall (70 a.), Crow Wood (30 a.), Barden (10 a.), Rake Head (three a.), Lodge (244 a.), Halgh Head (38 a.), Middle Halgh Head (13 a.), Lower Halgh Head (44 a.), Higher Halgh Head (13 a.), and a field, known as "Seven Acres," near Duke Bar; in Habergham Eaves the estate included Gannow Top (66 a.), Whittlefield (76 a.), Clifton (72 a.) and "Lawyer Lands" (29 a.); the estate also included 270 acres in Marsden and 1,724 acres in Extwistle and Briercliffe.

The Ridge side of Burnley presented a rural aspect with many farmsteads, both on the Ridge itself and on the line of Belvedere Road and the New Road. John Whitham farmed seven acres of "Glebe" land behind the Talbot; it included Bank Meadow, Walkerhole Meadow, the "Meadow back of the Tree Tons" while near the farm were seven cottages with gardens, probably behind Shorey. "Cooper's Farm" which stood on the site of the Park Mill, had fields stretching towards the Sparrow Hawk and also in the present Thompson Park and Queen's Park, and was farmed by Thomas Whittaker; among the fields were "the little field behind Cottam Laithe," "the Meadow back of the Canal," "Gungates," "Sparrow Hawk Meadow" and "two barns each end of the Sparrow Hawk." Near the jinney-track, the old Cottam Laithe was still standing, but its lands had been reduced to $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres; it was tenanted by William Ingham. Nearer Heasandford along the New Road was a farm tenanted by John Sharples, while Joshua Hitchon owned a farm near the Canal at the Turf Moor end of Belvedere Road. The two farms at the foot of the Ridge slope were occupied by Daniel Lowcock and Daniel Sutcliffe. On the Ridge itself were Ridge Heys, occupied by John Whitham; Ridge End, owned by John Hargreaves of Bank Hall; The Ridge in the tenancy of Robert Riding; and another Ridge Farm with orchard and garden occupied by Thomas Chaffer. Rowley with its 45 acres was owned by Mr. Halstead of New House, and was tenanted by Benjamin Chaffer, builder and timber merchant; those parts of the estate which lay in the direction of Heasandford bore the names of "Kit Field," "Killing Holme" and "Kippax Fields." Brunshaw Bottom Farm, which stood near Blakey Street was tenanted by Mr. Halstead of New House while Far Brunshaw was occupied by Benjamin Whitham.

The most important landowners in Fulfilledge were the Reverend John Hargreaves of Bank Hall, Mrs. Plumbe, and Charles Towneley. Mr. J. Roberts in 1800 lived at Fulfilledge

House but Mr. Hargreaves retained 15 acres of Fulfilled lands at Bee Hole, Turf Moor, Tenter Field and Pilling Field. No development had taken place except for one or two coalmines. Mrs. Plumbe owned the Yorkshire Street end of Plumbe Street (earlier known as Coalpit Lane), Pickup Croft, Aqueduct Street and Rushton Barn (the site of the Odeon Cinema). The district of Pickup Croft was known as "Red Lion Crofts" because here Thomas Helm, landlord of the Red Lion Hotel, had the fields belonging to the farm which formed part of the hotel. Thomas Hargreaves, cabinet maker, was the tenant of Rushton Barn and croft of $\frac{1}{4}$ acre. "Bean Meadow" near Aqueduct Street contained three acres and was farmed by Sutcliffe and Pate, the shoemaker of St. James' Street. In the Lane Bridge area, Thomas Helm of the Red Lion had five acres of land, including "Holme Saunders Bank"; Gilbertson, the druggist, grew herbs on about $\frac{1}{2}$ acre in the Cattle Market, then known as "Mint Field." Charles Towneley of Towneley owned "Butchers' Fields" at the corner of Todmorden Road and Yorkshire Street, but the land was farmed by Benjamin Whitham as part of his farm at the bottom of Brunshaw.

The Burnley Wood area in 1800 was farmland and all the farms mentioned in Chapter I were still in existence. The district between Huffling Lane and Parliament Street belonged to the Incumbent of St. Peter's and until the Burnley Curacy Act of 1819, that area could not be developed. Huffling Hall was tenanted by John Hall, iron-founder. No changes of any importance had occurred in the other outlying areas of Healey, Manchester Road, Coal Clough, Gannow, Ighthenhill and Whittlefield. Handloom weavers' cottages had been built in Cog Lane and Coal Clough Lane.

The town of 1800 consisted of houses, workshops, stables and warehouses lining the main road between the Church and the Cross Keys, with more thickly crowded areas in Church Street, Wapping and Brown Street; Shorey, Hill Top, Pickup Croft, Garden Street, and Sandygate were in process of development. It is difficult to give a general picture of the bewildering medley of buildings that formed the town, and the task is all the harder because no building of 1800 is to be seen as it originally appeared, except for one or two disused factories and one or two houses in Brown Street; most of the old inns have been completely rebuilt or have been altered out of all recognition, while many private residences, such as those in St. James' Street near Bridge Street and Market Street, can hardly be discovered in their present use as shops. Most of the early 19th century property has, of course, completely disappeared to make way for more convenient and modern

buildings. In the town of 1800 there were little, old, thatched cottages standing side by side with larger stone-built houses; some had gardens, and others opened into the street. Shops and dwelling houses mingled together, while stables, haylofts, and wooden sheds, smithies and workshops, flour stores and mill warehouses, lawyers' offices and doctors' surgeries, were built wherever convenient for the owners. In spite of the large amount of land available for building, it seemed that property owners of 1800 were determined to erect some sort of building on every square yard of their land, with the result that the town was really congested along the whole street. Inn-yards were filled with the workshops of tradesmen, houses were built on to the back walls of mills, and hovels were clustered behind the buildings on the main street. It is obvious that there was no town-planning scheme in operation.

THE DISTRICT NEAR ST. PETER'S.

The Talbot with back-buildings, brewhouse, stable and garden was owned by the Townley Parkers of Royle and was tenanted by Thomas Crossley, the parish clerk; it was assessed at £10 a year. In a cottage in the Talbot yard lived Widow Taylor; her dwelling was assessed at 10/- a year, the usual assessment on a stable. Across Godley Lane was the Old Sparrowhawk with its smithy. Immediately in front of the Talbot stood "The Old Houses," occupied by George Smith, John Stansfield, ——— Lister, and Betty Pollard. Shorey Street, which lay between the Brun and the Talbot, proceeded to the old Shorey Well and thence by a field path to Heasandford. On Shorey Street were some ten or twelve little cottages, two of which were very old and rated at 7/- each. Across the bridge, Dawson Square was represented by nine or ten houses, a shop, and a stable, belonging to the "Union Company." The blacksmith's shop, which is still in existence, was run by John Swainson, who lived at the end house in Dawson Square. All the buildings in the Square were taken down soon after 1820 and were replaced by "upstairs and downstairs" dwellings. On the river bank in School Lane were one or two little one-roomed cottages, having at least one old handloom weaver.

At the "steepplend" of St. Peter's, as the records express it, was the old chantry house, where William Foster, "boatsman," lived as Towneley's tenant; the house was described as "bad," though its garden was "good." A man named Lister had another part of the garden at the steeple end of the church. The chantry house was demolished in 1807 and the gardens were enclosed in the churchyard.

CHURCH STREET. (THE OLD SPARROW HAWK TO YORKSHIRE STREET).

In 1800, there seem to have been far fewer houses on this side of Church Street than on the opposite side. The Sparrow Hawk, tenanted in 1800 by Thomas Binns, was assessed at £8/10/-. In the open space in front of it stood the market cross and stocks, where the weekly market and annual fair were held though these were very soon to be transferred to the bottom of Manchester Road and St. James' Street. Next to the inn was a low wall surrounding two cottages with gardens and orchard, and then came two houses, one of which bore the date of 1597. Somewhere in the vicinity of Engine Street was "The Three Tons," which was probably a tavern, since its assessment was only 30/-; it was kept by John Tasker and may have been the early name of "The Flying Dutchman" in Engine Street, which was demolished many years ago. At the corner of Engine Street was the old Elizabethan house, lately known as "Whittaker's"; in 1800 it was inhabited by the Crossleys, who seemed to have leased part of it to a family named Edmondson: there was a garden in front and an orchard at the back of the house. "Scar House" was the home of Joshua Hitchon, leather merchant, and in Scar Top behind the house and on Hitchon's land there were several houses and small cottages. Here lived Cornelius Lister, cotton manufacturer, Widow Hargreaves, and James Clough. Mr. Hitchon later sublet his house to the Veevers family and sold Scar Top for building land. In Gunsmith Lane, the only property consisted of a joiner's shop, two cottages, and the New House, where Mr. Halstead of Rowley then lived; the Yorkshire Hotel now occupies the site of the New House, which possessed a garden, stable, a cottage, old buildings, all assessed at £30. The land between Gunsmith Lane and Yorkshire was a field used by Thomas Brooks of the Clock Face Inn.

CHURCH STREET (ST. PETER'S TO THE HALL INN).

The church yard used to extend over much of the present roadway and in 1800 there were four small cottages "at the churchyard side." Along Church Street, and between the churchyard and a point opposite Lindsay Street was a group of eight cottages of a moderate size, whilst at the end of them, stood the "New Sparrow Hawk," tenanted in 1800 by John Riding and in 1824 by "Old Chaffer," the constable; it had a brewhouse and garden and was assessed at £4. Next came a curious assemblage of 14 cottages, some fronting on Church Street, others facing the river; three of them were thatched and were valued for rateable purposes at only 5/-

a year, one had a stable attached to it, and eight had little gardens. Here lived families named Ingham, Dugdale, Threlfield, Nuttall, dyer, Webster, cotton-machine and wheel-maker, and Hargreaves, who was a commission agent for independent handloom weavers. Beyond was Eastwood Street, originally called Whittaker Street, with a block of property owned by Thomas Whittaker, chapman; he lived in the largest house in the block, assessed at £8. Some of the cottages were built to form a court behind Church Street and here lived William Smith, plasterer and wig-maker, and Thomas Crossley, cotton manufacturer; several of these cottages were assessed at only 7/-. Rakefoot passed through Whittaker's property and led to the tanning pits on the Brun and then over the stepping stones to the Green and the Park. A little beyond the cottages was Adlington House, now known as the Coach and Horses, but in 1800 the home and office of Richard Chaffer, estate agent and builder. Then came in succession along Church Street the Well Hall (occupied by William Greenwood) with two cottages in its grounds, an open field, the house of William Abbott, Jeremy Eastwood's grocery shop and house, and then the "White House," occupied by Mr. Raws, curate of St. Peter's and headmaster of the Grammar School; his house was assessed at £6/10/-. Next to the White House was the Hall Inn, tenanted by Widow Eastwood; it had a bowling green, a garden a brewery, the "old gallery," and about four acres of land stretching towards the Culvert, on which it was assessed at £27/14/-. Certain parts of the property, particularly under the old gallery, were leased out to tradesmen. Fletcher, the plumber and glazier, had one room as a workshop, Jeremy Eastwood made hats in another room, and John Eastwood used another as a butcher's shop, while in a fourth, William Hitchon carried on his business as a currier and leather cutter; the whole property was assessed at £22. Behind the Hall Inn and on the river bank was a stable and barn, belonging to Thomas Brooks of the Clock Face. Thomas Brooks became the landlord of the Hall Inn before 1818.

YORKSHIRE STREET TO MANCHESTER ROAD.

It is probable but by no means certain that Obadiah Folds, who built much of the house property at Hill Top, had his joiner's shop at the corner of Yorkshire Street. He himself lived nearer the Aqueduct. Mr. Hindle, lawyer, had a house and offices near the bottom of Cliviger Street. The block of property from Cliviger Street to Stockdale's was represented in 1800 by a cottage with garden, a cottage-shop with garden occupied by Farrand, seedsman, and the house and

garden of Mrs. Hitchon. Next came the post office, kept by John Sharples, with barn and stable behind, all rated at £10; the postmaster's house with garden, croft of one acre, stable and outbuilding was somewhere near Heasandford and was assessed at £5/12/-: the high rateable value was based on the profitable business of providing post-horses for travellers and looking after the mails. The post office adjoined a butcher's shop and behind it was Widow Aspden's cottage and garden assessed at £1. In the next block came in succession a small shop, a cottage, a house used as a school and a warehouse, the house of James Fletcher, the glazier, with a shippon as an outbuilding, and a butcher's shop kept by John Barrowclough. Then came Tattersall's house and the Boot and Shoe Inn with brewhouse, tenanted by the Dents and assessed at £7. It was one of the few inns in Burnley that had no farmland. A little distance up the narrow Parker Lane, that led to Lane Bridge past Gilbertson's Mint Field and the Coal Staithe attached to the Drift Pit, were the cottages of John Booth and John Parker, banksman; the latter may have given his name to Parker Lane. Across the entrance to the Lane was the White Lion, kept by Henry Eastwood (later a farmer at Brunshaw Bottom) who, like so many Burnley innkeepers, ran a butcher's shop at the inn. Both inn and shop were assessed at £12. The White Lion was a farm with stable, new shippon and an acre of land, called White Lion Croft, on which Firth Street is now built. Next to the inn was the house and workshop of Radcliffe, blacksmith, and further on, lived and worked Birtwistle, joiner, Nuttall and John Eastwood. The Clock Face, assessed at £15, was owned and occupied by Thomas Brooks, who had pasture fields near the present Colne Road Library and also in Basket Street; Brooks owned 14 houses in Church Street and one in each of Brown Street, Veevers Street and Union Street. Between the Clock Face and the Swan there were four or five little houses with shops, including a cooper's, a rope-maker's, and a confectioner's with a newly-built stable behind. In one of them in 1824 lived John Riley, shoemaker, whose house was the headquarters for some of the Manchester coaches. Christopher Edmondson's Swan Inn had a stable and the inevitable butcher's shop. Near the Swan and the Red Lion were the workshops of Whittaker, wheelwright, Simpson, whitesmith, and Pollard, blacksmith. The Red Lion with brewhouse, stables and shippons was tenanted in 1800 by a Mr. Helm and in 1820 by James Pate, a stage-waggon driver. It was assessed at £31/10/6d., and its lands in Red Lion Croft (1½ acres) and Saunder Bank (three acres) were rated at a further £31/15/5d.

HALL INN TO BRIDGE STREET.

This stretch of the modern Centre is difficult to describe because alterations that were made in the last quarter of the 19th century resulted in the demolition of all the old houses and the re-siting of this side of the Centre in order that a wide shopping area might be made possible. When one of the islands in the Centre was undergoing repairs a few years ago, the stonework of cellars that had been underneath the old houses on the N.W. side were discovered, thus giving a fair estimate of the original width of the street at that point. We must therefore remember that what is now the Centre was in 1800 rather a street with a wide bend opposite the Palace. The side streets running from it were Hall Rake, now Hall Street, Water Street, now represented by the passage by the side of the Palace, and Riding's Brow, near Cowgill and Smith's. Actually there were fewer houses on this side of the street than one would have expected, but a great deal of property lay in the area of Cannon Street and Water Street, once known by the name of "Wapping."

Beyond Hall Rake, where Mrs. Blezzard and Mr. Townson had their houses and shops and where Mrs. Whitworth occupied a house and John Smith, the huntsman, had his little cottage, there were "new erections," rated at £9 and £12 respectively, belonging to Mrs. Thompson, bread and biscuit baker; her house and bakery next door to the new buildings were assessed at £10. Then came Henry Riley, shoe-maker (£10), Lawrence, builder (£7), James Pollard, sen., tailor (£7), James Pollard, jun. (£3), and Mary Riding, who kept a school. Her family gave the name to Riding Brow. The Misses Clarksons (milliners) lived and kept their shop on the other side of Riding Brow and were neighbours to Mrs. Harker. Then came four newly-built but as yet unoccupied premises belonging to J. and W. Greenhalgh, rated respectively at £14, £14/6/-, £9, and £7. Behind was the house, warehouse, stable and yard of Blackburn, the tailor. Christopher Grimshaw, who later went to live at Fullede House, may have lived in the house at the corner of Bridge Street. Two of the new houses were occupied in 1820 by the Haworths, the cotton manufacturers; one of the houses is now Cowgill and Smith's.

BRIDGE STREET AND KEIGHLEY GREEN.

The Sun Inn consisted of house, cottage, weaving shop, brewing house, stable and shippin, all assessed at £30. It was built and occupied in 1793 by James Whittaker, the same person who held Waterbarn Farm where there was an

"Alehouse Field"; Miles Veevers was the landlord of the inn in 1820. Below the Sun Inn was Tattersall and Crook's woollen mill, the old corn mill, Crook's Brewery, four small cottages near the Brewery, and the "Old School" tenanted by Christopher and Jeremy Wilkinson.

On the river side of Massey Street were four very small cottages, Bamford's house and shop, three still smaller cottages, and Bazing Hall. Massey's woollen mill (now used for scrap metal) was built a few years later. On the opposite side of the street was James Folds' combing shop with seven small houses, in the largest of which, assessed at £2/12/6d., lived the owner and employer. Further along Massey Street was the Parsonage, occupied by Luke Eastwood; it had a plantation ($\frac{1}{4}$ acre), an orchard (a little over $\frac{1}{4}$ acre), a croft by the river ($\frac{1}{2}$ acre) and a garden near Bazing Hall—all assessed at £12/11/8d.

Off Bank Street was the new Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, with Christopher Hartley's new house (five guineas) and Widow Ashworth's cottage (£1) at the east end and Thomas Hargreaves' house (£11) and William Gibson's cottage and garden (27/-) at the west end. Further up Bank Street was Webster Fishwick's house, garden, stable and shippon with a tannery near the water. Between that house and Massey Street were "Fishwick's Cottages," assessed at 10/- to 15/- each. Here lived Ellen Smith who looked after the leather shop, Robert Austin, Samuel Crowther, the chandler of Wapping, and Joseph Cowell, whose little cottage and garden were rated at only 8/-

No buildings, except the old Grammar School, existed in 1800 between Fishwick's house and the cottages near the Canal in Colne Road.

WAPPING.

The very narrow Water Street presented a curious assembly of buildings in 1800 but when Roberts Place, Townson Street, and Hall Court with their cellar dwellings had been built, it became a really congested area. There were Tattersall's house, stable, carthouse and "higher" stable, Smith's wooden-saddle shop, Radcliffe's stable, garden and smithy, Dr. Grimshaw's house, surgery and garden with "a small room and cellar in the back part of the house near to the garden" leased to Smith, the saddler, Yates' smithy, lawyer Shaw's stable, Gilbertson's house, druggist's shop and warehouse, and several small cottages. In Riding Brow there were some nine

houses built up the steep street; they were assessed at an average of 25/-, but one cottage and shop, kept by Sally Hindle, was rated at no more than 10/-. Cannon Street contained some good houses assessed at £8 a year as well as many cottages of the meaner sort. Here lived Haworth before he removed to St. James' Street, the Eltofts, manufacturers, and Abel Bridge, the stonemason, who later went to live at Lane Bridge; here, also, were Airey's grocer's shop and Isaac Crowther's chandler's shop. There were about 35 houses, cottages and shops in Cannon Street in 1800, many of which became taverns and tippling-shops when Tickle, Eltoft, Massey, Crook, Spencer and Moore built their factories in the vicinity.

MANCHESTER ROAD TO THE CROSS KEYS.

At the corner of Market Street, the old name for Manchester Road, stood the Bull Inn or the Black Bull, as it was sometimes called, part of the Fulfilledge estate and therefore in the ownership of the Rev. John Hargreaves of Bank Hall; it was leased to Mr. Roberts of Fulfilledge House but was tenanted by James Allen 1800-1824. The inn with brewhouse, stables, shippens and warehouses was valued at £63 while the bowling green and gardens were assessed at a further £17; it covered a little over 1½ acres. The farmlands attached to the Bull were situated at "Bottoms" (unidentified) and "Limey Bank," situated at Mount Pleasant. The inn itself had two storeys and was situated almost opposite the Thorn Inn. Behind the inn were a number of huts and warehouses where fodder was kept for the post-horses and where traders might store their goods. In the Bull Croft that reached the site of the Town Hall and Hammerton Street were a coalpit and a fulling mill; part of the croft was leased out to James Smith, clogger, of Fleet Street, and John Peel, shopkeeper, of Keighley Green. Next to the Bull came the houses and shops of Langfield, saddler, Robert Whittaker, staymaker (he later lived in Church Street), Mrs. Hall, the warehouse and tinner's shop of Crook, ironmonger, and William Chaffer, cabinet maker, upholsterer, and constable. Then came the Bay Horse, kept by the Whittakers 1792-1824 and assessed at £12. In the Bay Horse Yard lived Thomas Whittaker, shoemaker, and John Pickles, tailor. Between the Bay Horse and Masons Arms was Widow Crook's small cottage, valued at 25/- a year; it was here that the "land-carrier" to Preston lived. The Masons Arms was kept in 1800 by Miles Veevers who later went to the Sun Inn; he had a garden and butcher's shop attached to the inn. The next buildings were Robert Munn's grocery and drapery stores, rated at £14, Mrs. Leeming's private house, the unfortunate

Mr. McConnochie's shop, a shoemaker's workshop and Joseph Sutcliffe's warehouse and cottage at the corner of St. James' Row. Joseph Sutcliffe was a calico printer and sizer, but his son, Thomas, who took over his father's premises was a printer and stationer.

Beyond St. James' Row where Thomas Kay built the first jenny-spinning factory in Burnley, there were a number of warehouses and small cottages as far as Hammerton Street. The first building was Crook's warehouse with two cottages as "back" buildings, then seven low cottages, the houses of John Hall and John Varley, the wig-maker, and the grocery stores of Joseph Clegg. Next to Clegg's shop were two comparatively large houses—the homes of James Hartley and John Whittaker, butcher. Then came Mr. Holgate's "house with kitchen," stables, shippens, and warehouse, assessed at £18. The Holgate brothers were connected with almost every branch of trade and industry—cotton, brewing, wines and spirits, banking, the Burnley Savings Bank, etc. One Holgate lived at Bridge End House, and the one here living in 1800 in St. James' Street may be the George Holgate who built Brown Hill about 1819. Next to Holgate's house were two houses with Samuel Gibson's 30/- cottage at the back. Beyond came an assemblage of stables, gardens (kept by Robert Riding), and eleven cottages where lived Thomas Healey, shoemaker (father of Thomas Healey, musician and schoolmaster), John Smith, fruiterer, fishmonger, and "tenter" of the whimsey at the near-by colliery, and James Allen, barm-seller. Some of these little dwellings were situated in a back-street behind the main street. The last of the cottages was assessed at 10/- and was inhabited by Mary Cunliffe. Beyond the present Hammerton Street there were four houses in an imposing row—Pilling's assessed at £6, Henry Fishwick's at £6, John Crook's "new house" and barn at £10 and Samuel Howard's house and shop at £5/11/-. Beyond Howard's, and on the site of the Victoria Theatre, was the Goodham Hill Steam Mill, run by John Spencer and assessed at £63. The colliery on the site of Collinge's furniture shop was in existence in 1800: the debris from the pit lay in a mound almost on the river bank. Cow Lane was a field path to Manchester Road. On the other side of Cow Lane there came in succession a little cottage, Topper's woollen mill assessed at £15, seven small cottages in one of which John Sagar, cotton machine and wheel maker, lived, two cottages at the back, Rothwell's dye-house and press-house, assessed at £16, and finally the Cross Keys and brew-house valued at £11. The inn was owned by James Topper and was tenanted by James Rawcliffe.

BRIDGE STREET TO WESTGATE.

“The corner house upon the Bank,” assessed at 10/-, was tenanted in 1800 by John Lupton, tailor and wig-maker. Between that house and Market Street live Alice Dent, John Duckworth, William and George Lupton, grocers, Widow Rawlinson and Thomas Smith, a Quaker. A few years later, James Massey, the woollen manufacturer, John Moore, father of the first Mayor of Burnley and himself a cotton manufacturer, and Robinson Greenwood, the corn-miller, lived in the same block of property. Behind the houses were three or four cottages assessed at 10/- to 12/-. Market Street and Fleet Street were just being developed in 1800 and we may read of “new buildings” in Fleet Street assessed at £12. The lock-up in Fleet Street stood near the river and was apparently in the basement of a building where John Riley, tailor, and Robert Whittaker, staymaker, lived in their workshops “over the dungeon.” Farrer, the hairdresser, had his house and shop in Market Street: his daughter carried on a day and boarding school in the same premises. Here also lived Jenny Thompson, confectioner, Robert Riding, shoemaker, and John Broxup, saddler: Broxup later removed to a shop near the White Horse.

The Thorn Inn, tenanted by William Beanland, had a garden, warehouse, cottages, stables, croft (the present Market Place) and a meadow in Colne Road, all assessed at £74. Next to the inn were houses and shops of a fairly good type, each assessed at £7. These were occupied by Thomas Greenhalgh, who sold seeds, glass and china, Benjamin Lancaster, thread-maker, Joseph Massey, William Crook, ironmonger, and Henry Halstead, shoemaker; it was here that Miss Demaine later kept a fashionable ladies’ shop, and John Radcliffe had a paint and paperhanging business. The next building was the White Horse. This inn which was assessed at £15 was tenanted by the Eastwoods and had a croft near the house, and a barn and fields near Ebenezer Chapel; as part of the property there was a clockmaker’s shop reached by outside steps.

In Chancery Street, Samuel Newton had his home, office and warehouse; he was an ironmonger in 1806, commissioner of oaths and sub-distributor of stamps in 1824, cotton manufacturer and the landlord of very cheap cottage property. A number of small cottages were crowded together in the Thorn Inn Croft, later to be known under the names of Fountain Street and Fountain Court, where now the Market Hall stands; they were the homes of miners, weavers and spinners.

Here, too, Thomas Hargreaves had his house, garden, shop and furniture warehouse, assessed at £18. Beyond Chancery Street lived Henry Smith, cotton weaver and shopkeeper, and James Pate or "Owd Pate" as he was familiarly known, whose house was on the site of the Dog and Duck. Pate was a shoemaker and had a large garden near the present Red Lion Street School, and a large meadow near Aqueduct Street. Further on were the shops and homes of Hugh Taylor, Miss Robertshaw, cap and bonnet maker, whose father and Mr. Boys had a large garden behind the house full of fruit bushes; at the corner of Curzon Street stood Bond's rope warehouse.

The Royal Oak at the corner of Curzon Street was probably a tavern kept by William Maden. Near it was a gate leading to a field called "Grimshaw Croft." Then came a curious group of cottages, stables and warehouses. Better class houses and shops stood between Bethesda Street and Brown Street for here were the homes of John Howard, clothier, James Lund, cotton manufacturer, William Pollard and Robert Harrison. At a later time, John Spencer, the owner of the Goodham Hill Mill, kept a shop in this block of property.

From Brown Street to the bridge near the Cross Keys, there were a very few small cottages and shops. The last building before the bridge was reached was a butcher's shop, owned by Rawcliffe, the landlord of the Cross Keys.

THE CLUBHOUSES IN THE BROWN STREET AREA.

The name "Clubhouses" covered all the houses that lay in Brown Street and Calder Street and the cross-streets of Blackburn Street, Union Street, and Veevers Street. Gas Street was largely made up of factories.

There are two interesting features about this particular district. In the first place, it was in the "Clubhouses" that a regular street planning scheme was first adopted in Burnley. In other areas in the town, such as Wapping, Shorey, Church Street, and Lane Bridge, it seems to have been the custom for a copyholder or leaseholder to consult only his own interests when he erected property on his land, so that he not only decided the number and character of the buildings, but he arranged and sited them as he desired. The result was that there was no planned development of the town; stables and warehouses were crowded among housing sites, private houses were sandwiched between shops, workrooms, and stables, and well-built houses and "slum" cottages were

found side by side. In the Clubhouses, each street had more or less uniform houses, similar in shape, size and appearance.

In the second place, the Clubhouses were erected by a very early form of Building Society, called "The Hall Union Club," with its headquarters probably at the Hall Inn. There were some 60 members in the club and they included Mr. Raws, the curate and headmaster, Banaster Halstead, schoolmaster, Hindle, Shaw, Aspinall and Grimshaw, lawyers, the Peels, Joseph Massey, William Crook, Haworth, Holgate, Veevers, Pickup, Thomas Hargreaves, Benjamin and John Whitham, Clegg, all textile manufacturers, Jane Dent, Thomas Brooks, James Whittaker, Mr. Roberts, all innkeepers, Fishwick, tanner, Greenwood, miller, and Munn, Pate, Greenhalgh and Jeremy Spencer, shopkeepers; other members were cloggers, plasterers, tailors and staymakers. Members subscribed to buy shares in the club, and as houses were completed they were allotted, probably by ballot, to those whose shares were "fully-paid." One member took up four shares, four took three each, twelve took two each and the remainder one each; each share entitled the holder to one house. In 1800, three houses which had not been allotted were still held by the Club. The houses in each street were uniform, those in Brown Street being assessed at £3 each, in Calder Street and in Union Street at £2/5/-, while in Blackburn Street, Nos. 1-13 were assessed at £3 and Nos. 14-20 at £2/5/-. On account of the method of allotment, almost every house in a street had a separate owner.

Brown Street: 31 houses, owned by 27 people, of whom four were owner-occupiers. The landlords included Mr. Raws, the landlords of the Boot and the Sun, Crook, Topper, Holgate and Greenhalgh.

Calder Street: Ten houses and ten owners, including a tailor, a plasterer, a cabinet-maker, a shoemaker, and a farmer.

Blackburn Street: 31 houses and 19 owners, including Greenhalgh, Whittaker, Veevers, Massey, Topper, Halstead, Aspinall, and Greenwood.

Union Street: 14 houses with 13 owners, including a tanner, innkeeper, brewer, iron-founder, and cotton manufacturer. At No. 11 lived John Wigglesworth, "chaise driver of Burnley."

Veevers Street: Eight houses with seven owners, including Robert Munn, James Pickup, and the landlords of the Bull and the Clock Face.

BURNLEY IN 1825.

A considerable amount of building activity in the town went on during the first quarter of the 19th century, notably on the Bankhouse estate, at the bottom of Sandygate, Thorneybank, Finsleygate, and Pickup Croft. During a period of only three years 1822-4, there were 416 new houses erected.

The Bankhouse lands, which had been granted to the incumbent of St. Peter's through the generosity of the Reverend Edmund Towneley of Royle, remained generally intact and unbroken until 1819 when leases of parcels of land for long terms were made. Such leases had not been possible until legal sanction had been given by the Act of 1819, entitled "An Act to enable the Curate and Patron of the Curacy of the Parochial Chapelry of Burnley in the County Palatine of Lancaster, for the time being to grant leases of the Glebe lands belonging to the said Curacy." Short-term leases of small parcels of land had been made before 1819 but there were very few buildings of a permanent character erected on them, since the builder or the owner was not sure what would be the "ground rent" to be paid when the term of the lease expired. After 1819, the lease of land was for 999 years and the rent varied from 1½d. to 6d. a square yard according to position and shape of the parcel of land that was leased. The agent, Benjamin Chaffer, was careful to insert conditions which imposed certain obligations on the lessee, e.g., any building erected must have a yearly rental of at least twice the amount of the "ground rent"; no building was to be erected "in which noisome or insalubrious trades or businesses were to be carried on, it being agreed that the business of a cotton or worsted spinner and manufacturer, engineer, millwright, iron or brass founder, machine maker, carpenter, joiner, or sizer shall not be considered noisome, insalubrious, or any nuisance"; no building shall be converted into a beerhouse or public house without consent of the "ground landlord." No conditions were made about the type and character of dwelling-houses that might be erected.

"Brown Hill" was erected by George Holgate and its completion in 1819 was celebrated by the firing of muskets from the roof-top. Nearer the town and on the same side of Bank Parade was the old Grammar School with a very small playground behind the school. The next building were the terraced houses between Bankhouse Street and Raws Street, which had been built about 1820-25 by Anthony Buck, the lawyer. The block of property between Raws Street and Parker Street was erected in 1840 by Thomas Chaffer. The

Reverend John Raws, curate at St. Peter's and headmaster of the Grammar School occupied a detached house at the corner of Park Street and Bridge Street. On the opposite side of Bank Parade were the houses of John Hargreaves and the smaller houses of William Fishwick. The congested houses with their cellar dwellings on both sides of Bank Street were built by the Fishwick family. The father, Webster Fishwick, tanner, lived at Green Bank in Bank Street; the son, cotton manufacturer and timber merchant, lived above the Canal in Manchester Road.

Of the other parts of the Park, as this area was called, Park Street, Roper Street, and Charles Street were in process of development. Bridge Street, then known as "Mill Lane," had property on the eastern side as far as the "Dairy" (Bridge Inn) near the mill dam. On Keighley Green in 1825 stood the Old Parsonage, the tannery of Webster Fishwick, the Methodist Chapel with its three houses, the "Dandy Shop" and cottages and John Folds' cottages in Massey Street, Massey's woollen shed behind the Dandy Shop, the old Brewery and the corn mill.

Small ugly cottages were built about 1820 in Cable Street and Chalk Street on land that had been leased from the church by Peregrine E. Towneley and others, and, at the same time, the back-to-back property in Sidney Street and Vernon Street (then called "Rodney Street") was built by Samuel Newton, ironmonger. These houses, rented at 1/4d. a week, were regarded as suitable for paupers. Barnes Bros. erected the first mill in this area across the Brun; it stood on the river bank between Royle Road and Sidney Street.

The present Bankhouse Street and Parker Street with their many side-streets remained in 1825 open meadowland; the only bridges across the Brun were situated in Bridge Street and Brown Street.

Just across the bridge at the Cross Keys lay the ruins of Peel's Mill which had been destroyed by fire in 1798. Beyond them and across the bottom of Whin Hill (the old name for this part of Sandygate) was William Hopwood's residence, now the Plane Tree Inn; Hopwood lived later at Oakmount in Westgate. Nearly opposite the present inn was the Westgate toll bar, kept by George Stansfield. To the left of Whin Hill was a short street named "Crow Nest" where some of the leading figures of Burnley at one time resided—Anthony Buck, John Moore, and the Beanlands of the Thorn Inn. A little distance on the left hand side up the hill was the "Peñcilling

Shop" where women and girls with delicate brushwork "filled-in" the printed patterns on fabrics that had not been completely covered by the block-prints. When roller-printing was adopted by the local calico printers, the pencilling industry was no longer needed and the "Shop" was turned into cottages. Opposite the Pencilling Shop was one of Massey's earliest woollen factories; it had three cottages built on to it. Above the canal, a footpath led through the "Sheep Fields" to Manchester Road and seems to have been connected with "Blind Lane." Further up Sandygate was a long row of cottages below the level of the road, known as "The Ginnel." Since the cottages had been built in the very early part of the 19th century, the roadway had been raised in places in order to reduce the steepness of the hill. Near the top of the row of cottages was the Hole in the Wall, famous for races as well as some disreputable sports. No other houses existed in Sandygate except two or three near the stone quarry. Barracks Road was a country lane but was improved soon after 1825 when the cavalry barracks were erected.

The district of the Meadows was planned and partially built up about 1820 as an area of factories, foundries and small cottage property. King Street, Queen Street, and Charlotte Street were built, but Marsland's Foundry, erected in 1817, the year of the death of Princess Charlotte, covered the site of two other suggested streets, Duke Street and Princess Street. The slum cottages in Vulcan Street, Cross Street and Kay Street in Newtown were built about 1820; for many years the nearest approach to these cottages was by a ford and stepping stones in Cow Lane.

In South Parade, the old name for Manchester Road above the Canal, Roberts' Mill stood near the Canal Bridge. Nelson House, the home of Miss Holgate, was built early in the 19th century. Trafalgar Street was quite short and led only to Thorneybank Mill. Thorneybank Street, Halstead Street and Halstead Square were in existence and opposite stood the small cottages in Marquis Place and Woodland Street. In South Parade lived four families of Roberts, the cotton spinners, Richard Shaw and John Thompson, lawyers, William Hargreaves, cotton manufacturer, and the Misses Currer, who kept a day and boarding school.

Foundry Street and its continuation, Finsleygate, were crowded as far as the present Leeds Street with mills and rows of cottages, many of which lay in side- and back-alleys. Stanley Street and Saunderbank or Windybank were not yet recognised as streets. The little gasworks, erected



BURNLEY IN 1827 (Based on Fishwick's Map).

about 1822 were surrounded by open fields. Meadowland and gardens covered the area between the Calder and the beginning of Parker Lane and between Manchester Road and the Electricity Works; this area was broken by Parker Lane, which led to a coal staithe situated on the site of the present Central Library, and thence continued to Manchester Road by the line of the present Grimshaw Street; from the coal staithe, a footpath led to the Drift Pit, which stood near Finsley Tannery, while another footpath was a continuation of Parker Lane and crossed by a ford into Finsleygate.

In the Pickup Croft area, Croft Street, Pickup Street, and Norton Street, then called Fulfilledge Street, extended as far as Boot Street, where fences enclosed the adjacent fields. Croft Street was almost complete with buildings, but Pickup Street was by no means continuous and Norton Street had only one or two houses near Basket Street.

CHURCH STREET.

The only additions to Church Street that were made in the first quarter of the 19th century were Well House and the property at Hill Top. Well House stood opposite Rakefoot and the Coach and Horses and was the residence of a doctor; later, it became one of many common lodging houses. The Hill Top property near the bottom of Gunsmith Lane consisted of a row of cottage-shop houses on Church Street with another row immediately behind them on a much higher level so that the narrow paved roadway in front of them seemed to be on a level with the roofs of the houses on Church Street; some of the houses were tenement houses with balconies at each storey. Near these houses and on Hill Top Street which joined Gunsmith Lane in Church Street, many wretched hovels were built in narrow side streets and little back alleys round the mills. The Directory of 1824 shows that there were at least 83 houses in Church Street, but many of these must have been in the Hill Top area. The public houses of 1824 were the Lord Nelson, now the White Hart, the New Sparrow Hawk (now demolished), the Old Sparrow Hawk and the Talbot. Between Gunsmith Lane and Yorkshire Street stood four or five low houses and shops, one of which became The Odd-fellows Tavern; the property was demolished to give place to Keirby's Brewery.

ST. JAMES' STREET (BLUCHER STREET).

It has already been pointed out that alterations made to St. James' Street completely changed its character. In 1825, the Centre was a comparatively narrow street with several buildings jutting out into the road beyond the "building line." "Blucher Street" extended from Yorkshire Street to the Boot Inn and here there were some rather dismal looking private houses and shops, many of which had been erected in the early part of the century on the sites of older property. Among the shopkeepers were Jeremy Spencer, grocer, Edward Houlding, shoe, clog and patten maker, and the Misses Forshaw, milliners; as business-women, the ladies saw potential profits in leasing land and building houses near Tarleton Road. Near the Boot Inn was the Post Office, kept by Isaac Cartmel, and the houses and shops of Thomas Bland, grocer, and Thomas Slater, pawnbroker. At the top of Hall Rake was Sutcliffe's wine and spirit stores and Greenwood's corn and flour shop; down Hall Rake lived Joseph Stott, brush and basket maker. The landlord of the Hall Inn was Thomas Brooks who had previously kept the Clock Face; near the inn was the warehouse and shop of Brown Fletcher, plumber and glazier. A little way down the hill on the left were Hall Court, a very narrow space flanked by little two-roomed, back-to-back cottages, and Townson Street with tenement houses and cellar dwellings.

ST. JAMES' STREET (MARKET PLACE).

The name "Market Place" seems to have covered that part of St. James' Street which lies between Parker Lane and Curzon Street, though a map of 1827 implies that it referred only to the area at the bottom of Manchester Road.

Next to the White Lion, tenanted by William Spencer, lived Henry Eastwood, butcher, and Ellen Eastwood, hat manufacturer; then came one or two small shops, including an oat-cake shop, the Clock Face, kept by William Slater, Gilbertson's shop, where drugs, pills, medicine and stationery were sold and books loaned from a circulating library, John Riley's boot and shoe shop, Dr. Meanland's surgery, Miss Eastwood's confectionery shop, the Swan Inn, and its butcher's shop, both kept by Christopher Edmondson, and then the old Red Lion, tenanted by James Pate, the stage-waggon driver.

Proceeding up Market Street (now Manchester Road), which was not more than eight yards wide, one passed a stable, barn, and warehouse in the yard of the Red Lion, the new

two-storeyed prison, William Pollard's smithy, Thomas Whitaker's house and cart shed and a cart road leading to the coal staithe and Drift Pit. On the other side of Manchester Road was the Bull Croft and the coal pit nearer Hammerton Street. The next buildings in Market Street lay above the Canal.

The old Bull Inn stood opposite the Thorn Inn. The building was broken by an archway leading to the yard behind where stood an assembly of "dark huts and grain warehouses"; over the arch was the Commissioners' room and next to the arch was Nathaniel Firth's saddler's shop with the Bull newsroom above. Beyond Firth, lived Radcliffe, brazier, Joseph Pate, glass and china dealer, "Jim o' Nick's," fishmonger, and the Mason's Arms, kept by Betty Eastwood. Robert Munn's grocery and drapery stores stood next to the inn and then came in succession John Howarth's private residence, "Old" Brown, tailor, and Thomas Sutcliffe, printer and stationer, at the corner of St. James' Row. After the Bull Inn and its adjacent property had been rebuilt about 1840, Sutcliffe removed to the shop next door to the inn; the firm was later carried on by Burghope and Strange.

There were about 12 different premises in St. James' Row. The largest was the spinning mill of Thomas Kay. Holden Hammerton of Hollins, lawyer, company promoter, and agent for the Atlas and Guardian Assurance Companies had his office in the street and near-by was an "Academy" kept by Mary and John Carter.

"Several low-built shops" stood between St. James' Row and Coal Street, which in 1825 was a lane leading to the coal-pit in the Bull Croft. A miscellaneous assembly of buildings lay between Coal Street and the present Hammerton Street; they included three butchers' shops, two barns and stables, and three private houses. The present Hammerton Street was marked by a gate through which a path led to a field now occupied by the Victoria Works.

The opposite side of Market Place followed the usual pattern of a mixture of private houses and shops, in some places crowded together, and in others separated by open ground. Beyond Sutcliffe's wine stores and a few private houses at the top of Hall Rake came Water Street, then a narrow congested thoroughfare leading to Cannon Street and the river. Near the bottom of Water Street was Robert's Place, a medley of tenement houses and cellar dwellings where misery was common. A little beyond Water Street was Riding Brow, a narrow twisting pathway through irregularly placed buildings,

which also led into Cannon Street. At the top of the brow was the home and shop of John Howarth, ironmonger, merchant and nailer, where Cowgill and Smith's now stands. Dr. Samuel Howarth, brother of the ironmonger, lived in the next house, and, at the end of the block, at the top of Bridge Street, lived one of the Holgates.

Bridge Street extended from St. James' Street to the bridge over the Brun; the road divided beyond the cornmill and mill dam into Mill Lane and Bank Street with "Parsonage Street" (now Massey Street) running down towards the modern "police-bridge." In addition to the factories in Bridge Street, which have already been described, there were several shops and private houses. John Robinson and Lawrence Schofield, both shopkeepers, lived near the top of the street, while John Haydock, brushmaker, and W. Brotherton, hatter, carried on business near the river.

In the property between Bridge Street and Fleet Street lived James Massey, woollen manufacturer, John Moore, cotton manufacturer, Lupton, grocer, Robinson Greenwood, corn-miller, and John Smith, grocer, tea dealer and draper. Fleet Street was a short narrow street leading to Nile Street, the old name for this part of Howe Street. In the houses and cellars of Fleet Street lived tailors and boot and shoe repairers.

At the top of Fleet Street was the Thorn with which was incorporated the "Blue Clock" building at the corner; its landlord was Frederick Whitehead. Past the Thorn were the homes and shops of Greenhalgh, gardener and glass and earthenware dealer, Miss Demaine, milliner, John Crook, ironmonger, Sutcliffe, brazier, and Radcliffe, painter. Next was the White Horse, tenanted by Richard Hartley; an upper room next to the White Horse was a watchmaker's workshop. Miss Robertshaw, cap and bonnet maker, and Richard Wroe, hatter, lived in the next house; then, at the corner of Chancery Street and St. James' Street, was the house and shop of John Broxup, saddler.

Chancery Street was probably so-called on account of the number of lawyers' offices to be found there; these included Shaw and Artindale's, clerk to the magistrates, Samuel Newton's, commissioner of oaths, William Smith, excise officer, Thomas Ward, supervisor, and Henry Wood, attorney's clerk. In addition, there were the homes and workshops of William Catton, staymaker, John Uttley, corn dealer, Susanna Marks, milliner, Luke Hargreaves, painter, Richard Johnson, perfumer, Thomas Catterall, reedmaker, and Henry Towers,

smallware dealer. Chancery Street led to Garden Street, Fountain Street and Fountain Court, an area of narrow alleyways and congested workshops and small cottages.

Between Chancery Street and Curzon Street, there were the shops of Edward Whittaker, butcher, John Howard, chemist, William Pate, sen., and William Pate, jun., both shoemakers, and the house of Joseph Massey, woollen manufacturer. Curzon Street was unpaved and no buildings had been erected beyond the Brun.

ST. JAMES' STREET (GOODHAM HILL).

Goodham Hill was that part of St. James' Street which lies between Curzon Street and Brown Street. The most important building in this short distance was John Spencer's factory on the site of the Victoria Theatre; opposite the factory lived John Spencer, William Wilkinson, manager, Whittaker, butcher. In the vicinity were the workshops of two machine-making firms, T. and H. Whittaker, and J. and C. Hargreaves.

ST. JAMES' STREET (CHEAPSIDE).

Cheapside extended from Cow Lane to the Cross Keys. The first block of buildings past Cow Lane comprised a few small shops and Sutcliffe's print, size and dye works. The next block extended to the Cross Keys, while behind it stood a certain amount of small property on the river bank. Here lived painters, butchers, drapers, and tailors. The only buildings on the opposite side of the street were a few cottages, the Commercial Inn, built on a site usually used for mill sweepings, and Veever's Mill at the corner of Calder Street.

BURNLEY IN 1850.

The population of Burnley had more than doubled in the second quarter of the 19th century and at the end of that period had reached approximately 24,000. Unfortunately for the health and morals of the people, new building areas were not taken over in the same proportion since lack of transport and long hours of work made it necessary for workers to live as near as possible to their mills, mines and shops. Consequently every vacant piece of land in the old streets was filled with tenement houses or very small and airless cottages; wherever the shape of the vacant plot permitted, a "court" or "place" was built. The area between Bankhouse Street and

Market Street was built up; Salford was completely covered; Wapping and the area of Garden Street and Curzon Street were crowded with the hovels of the workers in the near-by factories; the lower part of Sandygate, the Meadows and Newtown became really congested areas. Shorey, Scar Top, and Hill Top, Lane Bridge and Finsleygate became areas of factories, foundries, workshops, short streets of small houses and tenements, and alleyways of wretched dwellings.

Extensions to Pickup Croft had been made by the building of Aqueduct Street and the lengthening of Croft Street; houses had been erected on the White Lion side of Parker Lane and Hargreaves Street and Grimshaw Street had come into existence; Bedford Street, Whittaker Street, Rowley Street and Keppel Street had been built on Trafalgar.

Large areas of the present town of Burnley remained farmland. Stoneyholme, Daneshouse, Colne Road, Victoria Road, Fulfilledge, Burnley Wood, Healey, Gannow and Whittlefield were yet to be developed.

SUMMARY.

This chapter has been written to show the extraordinary contrast in the physical aspect of Burnley in the 18th century with that in the first half of the 19th century. Even by 1820, the town had become congested with buildings of every description, sited where the builders desired on any vacant plot near the main highway. As population increased and more houses became necessary, new estates in close proximity to the existing built-up areas were taken for factories and dwellings. In the new areas, builders continued the policy of erecting as many houses to the acre as could possibly be managed without the slightest regard for the health or comfort of the people who had to live in them. Such a practice was not peculiar to Burnley, for it was adopted in nearly every industrial town in Lancashire.

CHAPTER X.

Social Conditions, 1750-1850.

The evils that accompanied the Industrial Revolution presented the greatest problems that had ever faced the town. The increase of population, crowded slums, unemployment and low wages, poverty and disease, long hours of work—all combined to bring about a lower standard of health and morals. The poorer classes were mostly coarse, ignorant, brutal and often licentious. Such evils were not altogether new to Burnley, but they became more prominent because they were on a larger scale than ever before and more noticeable because the poor lived together in congested areas near the new mills. To add to their troubles, the masses possessed no vote for Parliament and had no influence in the government of the town. Discontent naturally spread like an infection among them and Burnley witnessed civil disturbances of major importance.

POPULATION.

Burnley's population increased at a phenomenal rate between 1750 and 1850. In 1750 it was about 2500, but thirty years later it had increased to approximately 3295; from 1801 we have the official census figures for the population within the limits of the present borough⁽¹⁾ :—

1801	.....	4840
1811	.....	6639
1821	.....	10068
1831	.....	12240
1841	.....	17520
1851	.....	24745
1861	.....	34381
1871	.....	40858

The increase is due in the first case to the great changes in industry which practically compelled people to leave their distant villages and hamlets to seek a livelihood in the factory town where there was a possibility of employment. We have records of families migrating to Burnley from Gisburn, Grassington, Airton, Armathdale, Barnoldswick, Bacup, from all the Pendle villages, and from Shore, Keb Cote, and Holme. Nor must one forget the number of parish apprentices from Liverpool and other distant towns and villages, who

1. Rawlinson—Rise and Progress of Burnley p. 7.

married and settled down in Burnley, after they had completed their terms of apprenticeship. Irishmen, too, found their way to Burnley in their search for permanent work, for it was comparatively easy to learn the art of weaving, particularly on a power-loom; at first, they lived in common lodging houses (where cholera often broke out among them), and later sent for their families to join them in a tenement house or cellar dwelling. Overcrowding in rooms and houses, drunkenness, lack of privacy, and other evil conditions also had their results in large families and the birth of many illegitimate children.

SOCIAL GRADES.

As in every other period, Burnley had its rich, middle class, and poor; but whereas in previous centuries the number of acres that a family possessed determined its position in the social scale, in the 19th century, social rank was based on power and wealth derived from industry.

The old land-owning aristocracy, the Towneleys and the Shuttleworths, had ceased to exert any great and direct influence on town affairs, though they were keen supporters of local philanthropic causes and institutions; the Townley Parkers of Royle, the Hargreaves of Bank Hall and Ormerod, the Thursbys of Ormerod, and the Whitakers of Holme were still powerful, but their influence was largely exercised through the magistrates' bench and St. Peter's Church. They all seemed, as it were, divorced from the ordinary life of Burnley, claiming respect by tradition and honour for their generosity, and taking little part in town affairs, save when some national movement or local situation called for their active participation and leadership.

A wide gulf separated the "gentry" from the upper middle class. The Halsteads, Whittakers, Sagars, Haydocks, Tattersalls, and Pollards, leading families in Burnley in the 17th and early 18th centuries, had either left Burnley or had fallen on evil days. Their places had been taken by "new" families, the Fishwicks, Masseys, Greenwoods, Grimshaws, Tunstills, Kays, Barnes, Dugdales, Roberts, Holgates, Hopwoods, Moores, Spencers, and many others. These were the families that had seized the new opportunities for winning wealth provided by the changing system of industrial production.

Nearly every one of the Burnley employers was a "self-made" man, working hard and late at his business. Some never forgot their up-bringing, and, urged by human

sympathy and Christian ideals, were ready to help their workers; many were not too proud to serve at the shop-counter or even hand out the "groat-ale" to their employees. These leaders of industry, who formed the upper middle class of Burnley, governed the affairs of town, church and chapels. They were not exceptionally wealthy, but many of them loved ostentation; they formed almost a separate community where personal rivalry often showed itself; and they prided themselves on the support they gave to public causes. Many of them were really earnest Christians, and took control of Sunday Schools, led open-air prayer meetings, and preached in their chapel. They were all keen and active business men and divided their time between work, religion and town government; few of them seem to have found time for relaxation until they retired. Most of them confined themselves to one line of business, but some were engaged in many trades: to give only a few examples, the Masseys were woollen merchants and brewers; the Holgates were cotton manufacturers, brewers, wine-dealers, and bankers; William Fishwick was a cotton manufacturer and timber dealer.

Among the upper middle classes should be included the professional men—the lawyers, Hindle, Buck, Grimshaw, Shaw, Artindale; and the doctors, Knowles, Coultate and Smirthwaite.

Shopkeepers, tradesmen, clerks, and trained artisans formed the middle class in Burnley society. Many were not satisfied with their station in life and emulated the activities of their more fortunate fellow-townsmen. Some borrowed money and entered the cotton trade; a few, such as Thomas Bland and W. Lupton, grocers, took an active share in the management of a Building Society; others bought shares in the Turnpike Trusts, the Canal, and local private companies; very many took land on a long lease and erected cottage property. In fact, one of the most interesting features in the expansion of Burnley in the early 19th century is the large part that was played by the speculation of ordinary tradesmen. Other members of this section of the community gave much time and thought to the moral and spiritual welfare of the people: for example, Benjamin Bell, grocer, of Hebrew Road, was a Poor Law Guardian, relieved many claimants for public relief out of his own pocket, offered his house as a meeting place for a religious society, and was a very early supporter of the Mechanics' Institute: Thomas Booth, a worker in Marsland's Foundry, instigated the movement for the establishment of a library. Such men had little desire for material wealth,

and it is to their efforts and hard work as secretaries of sick societies, thrift clubs, Sunday schools, adult classes and improvement societies, that much of the distress, both moral and physical, was alleviated.

Those in the lower middle class gradually merged downwards into the vast army of Burnley's poor. Here, too, there were grades and different characteristics—the clean, hard-working, careful poor, who took their pleasures sadly, thankful that they were not destitute; the thriftless poor, careless in their habits and ways of life, often unemployed, coarse, brutal and ignorant, with little desire to better themselves and less chance to break out from their environment; at the bottom of the scale were the destitute, the sick, blind and lame, for whom there seemed little hope. It was owing to the large proportion of thriftless poor with their unfortunate tendencies to cruelty and vice that Burnley was regarded as “a licentious place” with “profligate characters” among its inhabitants. It should be noted, however, that Burnley at this period was no worse than any other Lancashire town which was passing through the great industrial changes.

HOUSES AND FURNITURE.

The homes of the people naturally varied according to the wealth of the occupants. The older houses, such as Fulfilledge, Hollingreave, Healey Hall, Hood House, Coal Clough and Palace House, were large, pleasant and comfortable residences. Equally commodious were the newer houses of Brown Hill, Scar House, Rockwood, Springfield, Tarleton, and Reedley Grove, which had been built to accommodate the families that rose to influence with the wealth from industry. Rather less imposing were the new houses of manufacturers at Oakmount, Prospect Place, Bank Parade, and Crow Nest.

There was a wide variety of “working-class” houses. The skilled artisan usually lived in a house consisting of a downstairs living room with scullery and one or two bedrooms or in a very small four-roomed brick cottage. Both these types were built in rows with “entries” at suitable intervals to give access to the back street and the privies. Gas was to be found in some houses in 1850 but oil-lamps and candles were far more commonly used. People living near Shorey Well carried water, but those some distance away shared communal taps. When compared with modern standards, sanitation did not exist; there were, of course, no water closets, and it was rare that a house had its own separate privy, but had to be content with sharing with

two or three other houses the use of one in a row that was built at the end of an entry to serve a whole group of houses. When work was plentiful and wages were high, furniture usually consisted of the essential table and chairs, a home-made rug, a dresser, and a corner-cupboard, bedsteads and bedstocks, and a box or two; as luxuries, the most treasured possessions were a clock and a "snap" table. One record⁽²⁾ of 1827 shows the furniture of No. 4, Veevers Street, at that time a beerhouse and small lodging house, and therefore containing more than the usual amount of furniture. There were four bedsteads and beds (sold for £3/3/-), bed-stocks (5/-), wardrobe (£3/14/6), clock (£2/15/-), dining table (9/-), table (1/-), four chairs (13/7d.), stool (10d.), pots (1/6d.), tin kettle (1/3d.), six tubs (1/-), a barrel (1/6d.), bottles (5d.), healds and staves (6d.), three tea trays and quills (5/9d.), a bird cage (6d.), a quilting frame (1/3d.), and fixtures, including a door (£1/15/7d.); the whole of the beerhouse keeper's possessions, except clothing, was sold under a distress warrant and realised £13/13/9d.

The worst types of homes were to be found in the back-to-back houses, the tenement houses, and the cellar dwellings. Here lived the unskilled workers, the casual labourers, the heavy manual workers, the blind, the lame, and the destitute. Life in these houses seemed devoid of any comfort. With the back-to-back houses should be included those that were built up to the wall or in an angle of a mill building; in both cases, there was no through ventilation, a condition that was rendered worse by the fact that windows were not made to open. These houses, crowded together in side-streets and alleys, were perhaps more comfortable than the tenements. Here, families were herded together in small and cheerless rooms that were often only reached by outside iron steps leading to iron balconies at each of the three or four storeys. Cellar dwellings were reached by a flight of steps leading down to the area on which the cellars opened. All cellars were damp, sunless, and most unhealthy; some consisted of only one room, where the family lived and slept, but others, known as "double," had two rooms. These cellar dwellings were to be found in every part of Burnley, but particularly in Robert's Place, Wapping, Bank Street, and in Salford. The sanitary arrangements for all these three types of houses were such as have been described in the preceding paragraph, though it is reported that in certain cellar dwellings, no arrangements whatever were made. One or two typical examples of life and

conditions in these houses may be given. Several adjacent cellar dwellings in Eastgate were entered from a narrow area at the bottom of a flight of nine very steep steps; each cellar was a single room, damp and liable to be flooded in wet weather. In one of these cellars lived in 1827 a poor, lame man, aged 68, once a carter, who since an accident four years previously had not been able to sleep in a bed; with him in the one room lived his wife and two elderly lodgers.⁽³⁾ Other local records tell of six, seven and eight people living in one room with only one bed and "a lap or two of straw, of a mother of seven children with only one worn blanket for a bed and an old cloak for a cradle," of "nauseous smells" in the houses and "the miserable aspect" of the inhabitants, of little children "in the cradle with only straw to lie on and covered with a cotton fent."⁽⁴⁾

FOOD.

During the first half of the 19th century, wages fluctuated very considerably; in some years, calico weavers could earn 16/- a week, but in other years, wages fell to 6/- and even to 1/6d. a week. Under such conditions, both the quantity and type of food varied from year to year. The "Household Accounts Book" of William Varley, the Higham handloom weaver, whose diary has already been examined, provides a first-hand source of information for the period Oct., 1819, to Dec., 1822, when both the father and the mother were in full work and earning a weekly total income varying between 15/- and 12/-. It should be noted that the period covers a time of comparative prosperity. The total expenses for the first six months of 1820 amounted to £20/0/1½d.; for the corresponding months of 1821, £26/11/3d.; and for 1822, £15/0/1d. The rent of the house was £3/12/- a year, and local rates amounted to 12/- a year.

The main article of food was porridge, made from oat-meal and skimmed milk, and possibly sweetened with treacle. About 27 lbs of meal at 1½d. to 2d. a lb., and seven quarts of milk at 1/- to 1/4d. for 20 quarts were bought each week. Another staple food was bread, though as only 7-10 lbs. of flour were bought weekly (average price 2½d. a lb.) there could hardly have been more than a bare sufficiency for the family of four. Two lbs. of "tub" butter at 11d. a lb was the weekly allowance, though larger quantities at 10d. a lb. were bought in the third quarter of each year to salt down for the winter when prices reached 1/- a lb.

Of other necessary commodities, coal at 1/4d. a load, and oil at 7d. to 10d. per quart were used very sparingly. In 1820 only 14½ quarts of oil and 1 lb. of candles were bought; possibly, the mother made and used rush-lights. Two iron candlesticks were bought in 1822 at a cost of 4d. each.

In order to vary the monotony of porridge and skimmed milk, bread and butter, the household management permitted the acquisition of certain luxuries which were doled out in very small quantities. Tea at 7/- to 8/- a lb. was limited to 2½ lbs. a year, and to this was added a yearly purchase of 16 oz. of coffee at 2½d. an oz. Sugar, used for jam-making as well as for the table, at 9d. a lb. in 1820 and 7½d. in 1821 was another luxury and limited to ½ lb. a week. To make jam, the mother purchased 10 lbs. of sugar and 30 lbs. of apples "of a hoker" and four pot jars. During the period of nearly three years the only records of fruit purchases were one quart of gooseberries, and 47 lbs in all of apples, though the nine berry trees purchased in 1820 would provide a little extra fruit in later years. The mother was able to provide a cake very occasionally for she purchased half a pound of currants each quarter day and experimented with a pennyworth of carraway seed at Christmas, 1821.

Few potatoes were eaten and fresh meat was a very rare luxury. During the two years and ten months which the accounts cover only 18½ lbs of mutton and 4 lb. 6 oz. of veal were bought. There were, of course, the pork and bacon which they obtained from their home-fed pig and the purchase of 15 lbs. of salt on Dec. 17th, 1821, seems to suggest that the Burnley-bought pig was killed and salted down.

Home-brewed beer made from malt and hops was an important item. In 2¼ years 217 lbs. of malt were bought at a cost of £2/14/3d., and the hops cost 2/2d. The used malt and hops were used for pig food. The buying of six corks for 2d. suggests that the beer was bottled.

We can now imagine the type of meals the Varley family would have. For breakfast, porridge and skimmed milk in plenty, bread and butter or treacle in smaller quantities; for dinner, potatoes, salt pork and very rarely a vegetable from the garden, or, more porridge and oatake; for tea and supper, tea or coffee, more porridge, bread, and on special occasions, cake or jam.

Judging from the nature of certain entries, it is evident that both parents worked for a "putter-out." They bought a "pulling-iron," two heaters, alum, logwood, saltpetre,

five shuttles and six healds, "router strap," "sissars," a loom knife, and pliers. They were therefore able to go through all the main processes of woollen cloth manufacture—cleaning, combing, spinning, dyeing and weaving.

All members of the family ordinarily wore clogs; shoes were reserved for special occasions. The amount of money spent on clothes is surprising. It may be that the family liked to make a good appearance in public whatever the home table might lack, for the purchase of certain articles seems at first sight to have been somewhat extravagant. In 1820 father spent 3/10d. on the "making and trimming" of his new trousers; mother bought a gown for 12/8½d., a pair of new stays for 6/-, and a shawl for 17/6. Wilson had to be content with new shoes, but Elizabeth obtained a bonnet for 10d., white stockings for 5d., black stockings for 1/8d., and new shoes. In addition, the mother purchased for members of the family 27-in. of black satin, 9-in. of white satin, 3½ yards of black ribbon, 1½ yards of black trimming, a neckcloth, a cap (2/-) and a "pocit hancarchief" (7d.). In 1821 the father decided to increase his wardrobe. He began with new stockings at 2/6d., a "waste" coat piece at 3/6d., which cost 3/9d. for making and trimming, "a pair of trowsers making for 8/9d."; he then had his shoes soled and heeled and completed the outfit with a new hat for 10/-. Wilson followed his father's lead and obtained new shoes, new clogs, new stockings, and a suit with trimmings. Elizabeth was quite fortunate for she secured a new hat and trimmings (6/-), white stockings, black stockings, a straw bonnet (1/1d.) and new stays for 3/-. The mother bought two pairs of stockings, new stays, stuff for a gown, flannel, print, fustian, a silk handkerchief, a new handkerchief for 1/10d., from the fashionable Miss Demaine of St. James' Street, Burnley, and a "half handkerchief."

Incidental expenses give us a further insight into the household economy of the Varley family. A pot brewing stand for 1/2d., a butter mug for 8d., a lantern for 2/4d., a lamp for 4½d., and a fire "shovel" for 1/2d., show an attempt to reach a certain degree of comfort; so too "the snap table bought at Alse Dyn sale" for 6/7d., and a "chope-in-dish" (chauffing pan or bed warmer), an iron foot fender, and ½ lb. of dark brown paint betray a desire to brighten up the cottage. Personal cleanliness does not appear to have been of supreme importance if we are to judge by the quantity of soap purchased. Half a pound a week at a cost of 4d. for personal use and laundry purposes does not seem extravagant. The only entry dealing with literature of any description is "Life of Napoleon bound 2/-."

Food and household expenses of Burnley handloom weavers and factory operatives were doubtless similar to those which have just been described for the Higham weaver, but it must be noted that they applied only to certain years of comparative prosperity. After 1822, a depression in trade set in from which the weavers did not entirely recover until 1850. In some years during the depression, the poor literally starved and evidence is available from many sources to show the terrible suffering in this district in the many "bad" years. In 1833 it was reported from this area that a few potatoes and $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of mutton fat had to serve for five dinners for a family of five, with thin oatmeal porridge for breakfast and supper. In 1842 Burnley children grubbed among the garbage on the market to find something to eat and many families kept themselves alive with boiled nettles; some families were entirely without food every alternate day and many had but one meal in the day and that, a poor one; Burnley weavers were "haggard with famine." The only bread that Burnley poor could afford in 1818 was called "clap-cake," which was made from oatmeal and water.⁽⁵⁾ Even some of the wealthy classes made oatmeal their staple food and one manufacturer stated that his family had porridge twenty times a week with a slight variation for Sunday dinner.⁽⁶⁾

WAGES.

During the years of prosperity before 1800, due to the great demand for British goods and the absence of Continental competition, weavers' wages rose to phenomenal heights. That was the time when a Burnley weaver wore a Sunday coat of fine, blue cloth with spade-guineas as buttons and a waistcoat with half-guineas as buttons. Weavers looked back with longing to those days, when, after 1815, wages fell to 6/- a week and even lower.

In 1816, it was estimated⁽⁷⁾ that a weaver of fine calico earned on an average $6\frac{3}{4}$ d. a week, but his necessary expenses amounted to 4/4d. (rent, 1/9d.; firing, 1/-; warp-sizing, 3d.; looming, 3d.; sowing for warps, 3d.; soap, tallow and oil, 2d.; candles, 4d.; soap for family, 4d.): the weaver had thus $2\frac{1}{4}$ d. a week for food and clothing for himself and family. A journeyman weaver, working at a loom in his master's cottage, earned $6\frac{3}{4}$ d. a week, but after deductions had been made, he was left with $2\frac{5}{8}$ d. for food and clothing. An aged man and wife could only earn 4/- a week, but after paying rent, buying fuel, and meeting expenses incidental to weaving, they had nothing at all left for their own support.

5. P.R.O. P.L. 27-11 Series 1.
6. Blakey—Annals of Barrowford p. 105.

7. "Liverpool Mercury" — Quoted in
Trader, Feb. 3rd, 1927.

There is an almost unlimited amount of evidence to show how wages and piece-rates were reduced after 1815. Baines, for example, states that the piece-rate for weaving 74's calico was 8/7d. in 1802, 1/1d. in 1829, and 1/4½d. in 1833; this statement is amplified by Varley, the Higham weaver, who wove 74's and received 2/0d.-2/3d. in 1820, 3/6d. in 1821, and 1/9d. to 9d. in 1826. Local handloom weavers, employed by Thomas Grimshaw of Barrowford,⁽⁸⁾ earned 26/- a week in 1814, but only 4/8d. in 1829; in 1833, his 400 weavers were "starving."

Mr. Fielden of Todmorden collected a vast amount of material concerning the position of the handloom weavers in 1831-33; the information was supplied to him by two responsible men from each of the neighbouring townships. His analysis is as follows:—⁽⁹⁾

1831. Padiham.

Average weekly wage per head of population ...	1s.	9¾d.
Rent, fuel, candles, sizing, etc., per head of population		6½d.
Average weekly amount left for food and clothing per head of population	1s.	3¼d.

1833. Briercliffe.

666 workers had an average weekly wage of	2s.	6d.—3s.	6d.
789 workers had an average weekly wage of less than	2s.		6d.

1831. Barrowford.

Average weekly wage per family	10s.	7¼d.
" " " worker	3s.	1½d.
" " " head of population	1s.	8d.
Rent, fuel, candles, etc., per head		5¾d.
Average weekly amount left for food and clothing per head of population	1s.	2¼d.

1831. Cliviger.

Average weekly wage per family	10s.	3½d.
" " " worker	3s.	3d.
" " " head of population	1s.	10d.
Rent, fuel, candles, etc., per head		2d.
Average weekly amount left for food and clothing per head of population	1s.	8d.
(About 3d. a day).		

8. Rep. on Handloom Weaving 1833.

9. Fielden papers.

These rates were officially considered ample for the ordinary needs of a family, and the Burnley Select Vestry refused relief if the average earnings of a family amounted to 1/6d. per head. It is little wonder that some families were in arrears with the rent and that "a family's clothing is not worth more than 6/- or 8/-."⁽¹⁰⁾

The wages of handloom weavers was barely sufficient to maintain life, but a further grievance was added by the uncertainty of the piece-rate, which, in some instances, seemed to vary by 3d. almost weekly. Such a state of affairs caused not only dissatisfaction but actual hardship and led to the demand of the weavers for a fixed minimum wage—a demand that was supported by many masters. A second interesting feature during many of these abnormal years was the fact that there was really very little unemployment. In Padiham, in 1833, for example, out of 1381 workers, there were only four unemployed, and in Trawden all were employed at a wage that left less than 2½d. a day for food and clothing for each person.⁽¹¹⁾ This seems to show that this district had adopted the principle of the "Speenhamland Decision," which, in short, had for its object the employment of all workers at wages that the employers could afford to pay, and the use of poor relief to make up any difference between that wage and the minimum cost of living.

Fortunately, the picture was not so gloomy for all workers. Factory power-loom weavers, whose numbers increased after 1830, could earn higher wages than the domestic weaver, for at a piece-rate of 2/6d. the factory operative earned 12/6d. while the handloom weaver could earn only 7/6d. Factory spinners were also in a better condition than the domestic weaver and their wages never sank below the existence level; foreign demand for cheap machine-spun yarn from England never flagged and spinners were fully employed. Similarly, calico-printing became one of the most thriving industries in Burnley, and though Burnley block-printers strongly objected to the introduction of cylinder-printing,⁽¹²⁾ they realised at length that the new system gave almost a monopoly in the printing industry to those firms which adopted the new invention. Baines gives the wages of coarse spinners as 20/- to 28/- a week, women spinners 14/2d. to 17/-, and calico printers about 26/- a week.

10. Parliamentary Debates 17 p. 18.

11. Ibid.

12. Cook Taylor—Tour through the Manufacturing Towns p. 97.

HEALTH.

Lack of food, care and attention caused the death of many children, particularly of those under the age of five years; only the strongest survived the age of childhood. The mass of adult workers were tough and inured to privations, but they suffered such hardships that very few of them could expect a long and healthy old-age. Insanitary dwelling houses, hunger and long hours of work eventually weakened the power to resist the diseases which seemed always to be present in the town. It is pathetic to notice in the church registers the burials of so many "infants" and very young children (often 30 per cent. of the yearly totals), and of men and women in their early fifties; during one period of ten years, there were only three burials of people over 80 years of age and very few over 70 years.

Outbreaks of cholera, smallpox and measles were all too frequent; cess-pools, refuse heaps, and the primitive method of disposing of human manure by scattering it over the neighbouring fields encouraged the continuance and extension of every outbreak, while overcrowding created insurmountable difficulties in localising the infection. Lack of soap and scarcity of water, particularly in the upper floors of tenement houses, hampered the work of medical men in their fight against disease.

The outbreak of cholera was so severe in 1832-3 that the overseers were given special powers to raise money to deal with the disease,⁽¹³⁾ and the Reverend Mosley Master issued a pamphlet asking all parishioners to attend St. Peter's on March 20th, 1832, for prayers, fasting and humiliation.⁽¹⁴⁾ It appeared again in 1836 in a most virulent form; it is said that on this occasion the "dead cart" went round to collect the victims. A very severe epidemic occurred in 1846, but it is uncertain what particular form of disease was prevalent. The number of burials at St. Peter's indicates, in a general way, the existence of an epidemic in a particular year, but the figures must be taken in conjunction with the population:—

1816	298	1831	267	1846	510
1817	284	1832	376	1847	463
1818	322	1833	406	1848	411
1819	227	1834	331	1849	517
1820	194	1835	341	1850	459
1821	335	1836	448	1851	466
1822	280	1837	420		
1826	236	1838	397		

13. Parl. Papers 1833.

14. Copy in Central Library, Burnley.

More informative statistics are available in the returns of the Burnley Poor Law Union for the years 1843-1847 (printed in an Appendix). These show that deaths between 1843 and 1847 averaged about 30 per 1,000 of the population and that during an epidemic which lasted some six months in the same period the death rate rose to 47 per 1,000. (The average death rate on the same basis in 1934 was 14). People lived in fear of an outbreak of fever and letters were written to the Press protesting against the clearing of cess-pools and street sewers in the summer months lest the disturbance of their contents should liberate the germs of cholera.⁽¹⁵⁾ A local "Anti-Cholera Mixture" was widely advertised⁽¹⁶⁾ and doubtless had a ready sale. But the worst enemies to health were the insanitary conditions in the houses, lack of nourishment and malnutrition, and want of care and attention to young children, particularly when they were ailing. Even if they escaped the worst diseases they were always subject to respiratory troubles.

Despite the high mortality rate, the population increased by reason of a higher birth rate and immigration into the town. The birth rate between 1843 and 1847 was approximately 42 per 1,000 of the inhabitants.⁽¹⁷⁾

THE RELIEF OF THE POOR.

Each township in the parish was responsible for the maintenance of its own poor, and, for this purpose, the rate-payers at their annual Vestry meeting elected their officers—two unpaid overseers and one paid assistant overseer who collected the poor rates and assisted the responsible overseers. This system worked satisfactorily during the years of prosperity, but as a consequence of the trade depression which increased the number of paupers, the ratepayers in 1819 elected a special committee, known as "The Select Vestry," to take over and reorganise the whole system of relief. The Select Vestry continued to function until 1837 when the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was put into force and the Burnley Poor Law Union and Poor Law Guardians came into existence.

During the earlier period up to 1819, only out-door relief appears to have been granted and this was given in the form of money, goods, rents, and medical attention. An 18th

15. From Mentor Sept. 17th, 1853: "It is doubtful whether evil is not the consequence in stirring up the sinks and rooting out the dirt when the enemy is in the midst of us."

16. Mentor *passim*.

17. Return of Burnley Poor Law Union.

century workhouse had existed near Brennand Street but was allowed to decay and was abandoned finally in the later years of the century. The two Burnley overseers in 1817 were Miles Veevers and William Shaw; Henry Riley was the paid assistant overseer and out of his small salary he paid John Smith to collect the poor rates. Medical officers were paid on a fixed scale according to the nature of their services, e.g., operations, supply of drugs, leeches and splints.

Little is known about the methods and scale of outdoor-relief that were adopted in Burnley before 1827. A list of bills⁽¹⁸⁾ authorised to be paid on July 8th, 1817, indicates that rents were paid and that lunatics were boarded out at the county hospital but it would be more interesting to know the individual amounts that were paid to paupers by the two overseers. The bills are as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
William Shaw for relief	31	12	0
Miles Veevers for relief	10	10	0
Rents for poor people paid	64	0	0
Overseers of Sunderland for a Burnley pauper	8	0	0
Overseers of Salford for a Burnley pauper	5	4	0
Lunatics at Brindle	1	13	8
Dr. Wood, Medical Officer	7	6	0
Dr. Parkinson	27	5	0
Dr. Brown	20	11	0
Webster Fishwick for County Rate (a Precept)	156	16	7

The large sum of money paid to Mr. Webster Fishwick was Burnley's contribution to the County funds, levied on the township by Justices of the Peace for the relief of distressed areas and the maintenance of county institutions.

The overseers took their duties seriously but often they had to put up with much unpleasantness; e.g., in 1818, they suspended all relief to one woman for "improper language to Henry Riley," the paid overseer.

In 1819 the Select Vestry decided to build a new workhouse and accordingly bought a plot of land where the abattoirs now stand belonging to James Hargreaves of Newchurch in Rossendale. The area was 6000 square yards and on it they erected the main building, 162 feet by 36 feet, wash-houses at the back, 112 feet by 16½ feet, and a "shed" containing 16 handlooms; the rest of the land was occupied by pig-sties and a garden. This workhouse continued until 1876

18. Parish Accounts.

when a new one at Rakehead was opened. The Select Vestry was often unfortunate in its choice of workhouse-masters and quarrels were bitter and frequent. James Hamer, the first master, was given two months' notice to leave for killing on October 1st a pig, the property of the workhouse, against the orders of the visiting overseers, and for saying that "he would have it killed and the Committee might wicken it if they could"; the Vestry also complained of the amount of ale the master brewed and that "he flew into insulting language and said that if he could not have suitable meat and drink without such particular obligations he would take a poke and go about begging." They therefore appointed another master at a salary of £25 a year.

Out-door relief was, of course, continued for those families who were not absolutely destitute. The payment of rent in 1817 was a serious item in the expenditure on the poor and it was suggested that six cottages should be built at the public expense on "waste" land where some of the distressed could be housed without payment of rent; the proposal was not adopted. Though Burnley's system of out-door relief is not known in detail for the years before 1827, it was doubtless similar to that in use in the neighbouring township of Reedley Hallows, Filly Close and New Laund. In that township, there were in 1818 some 15 families out of 80 with a population of 422 regularly receiving relief of 5/- to 3/- a week, while many other individuals received occasional grants of money, goods, rent, or funeral expenses, e.g., two "wasecoats" for Susan Pollard, 2/-; Thos. Holden, relief on the deliverance of his wife, 10/6d.; "flitted" John Duckworth, 10/6d.; £24 for rents and £5/11/6d. for funeral expenses (1818). The overseer visited his own township's paupers, who happened to be living in other districts, e.g., "Journey to Barley concerning Edmund Lee beating his wife, 5/-; Gave his wife 1/-"; "Journey to mark Susan Astin's goods at Padiham, 1/6d." The committee members regaled themselves at their meetings with rum at 5/- a bottle, gin at 4/-, ale, pipes, and tobacco; one meeting alone cost £2/0/6d.

Meanwhile, distress was increasing in Burnley and reached its highest peak in 1826. Even in the rural area of Reedley Hallows, the total expenditure on poor relief rose from £216 in 1818 to £707 in 1826, while in Burnley, poverty, though not necessarily unemployment was correspondingly worse. Subscription lists were opened for the provision of food and clothing and public works were undertaken to find work for the unemployed. The appalling conditions led to another rearrangement in the method of granting relief. At

Easter, twenty overseers were appointed to form the Select Vestry, and at their first meeting, they made four committees, each of which was to meet by rota at the workhouse every Friday at 1 p.m. to consider applications for assistance. Most of the overseers were cotton masters—Fishwick, Brennand, Spencer, Ward, Haworth, Hopwood, Veevers, Crossley, Folds, Sutcliffe, Tattersall; Buck, the lawyer, Edmondson, innkeeper, and Holgate, banker and wine merchant, were also appointed. The number of applicants during the following 18 months averaged about 80 a week, but this number was reduced to 40 in the latter part of 1828.

Relief, when granted, varied from 6d. to 3/- a week for a family. Often, the overseers made a grant on condition that the applicant made an improvement in his conduct: William Harker of Mill Lane (Bridge Street) was granted 2/- but “if again troublesome, he should be made an example of”; John Greenhalgh applied for 7/6d., but was given only 5/- and ordered “to get in work and not get drunk”; Henry Simpson was granted 4/- and told to get work and support his wife and children or “go to Preston (gaol) and the parish would support his family,” to which veiled threat he replied “I don’t care how soon”; Richard Taylor was allowed 1/- but “nothing more till he destroys his dog.”

The overseers decided that no relief should be granted if the total weekly earnings of a family amounted to more than 1/6d. per head, but this rule was occasionally relaxed. Betty Wilkinson, a widow with four children, was allowed 1/6d. though the family earned 12/- to 15/-; Henry Robinson of Thorneybank was allowed 1/- though there were two weavers in the family of three; John Varley was told that his wife must weave with him to increase the family income; John Parker of Burnley Lane with a family of nine was refused assistance and informed that he could earn 16/9d. with his three looms in his house and two children in the factory, and that if they all worked at home, they could earn 21/- a week weaving 24 pieces at 10½d. a piece. In two cases, applicants refused the proffered assistance; John Swainston and his wife, who had earned only 3/6d. in a fortnight, regarded the relief of 4/6d. as an insult; a woman refused help from the overseers because they offered too much, for had she accepted it, her total income would have made her liable to contribute towards the maintenance of an illegitimate child.

Relief was often given in kind, and included healds, shuttles, looms, clogs, frocks, pinafores, blankets, quilts and bedgowns; once, a coffin was allowed. The overseers some-

times loaned money on security, e.g., Betty Laycock of Roberts Square had 50/- advanced on her mangle and agreed to refund the loan at 1/6d. a week; sometimes they bought goods out of pawn; on one occasion they helped an old soldier to get his pension. After 1829, the overseers refused to pay rents for poor people but instructed the paid overseers to attend the sale and buy the goods of any poor family that had been evicted under a distress warrant for non-payment of rent; the homeless family was then to be "set up in another edifice, e.g., one of Newton's cottages (Vernon Street) at £3/10/- a year or another one if found cheaper." As distress began to decline after the worst years of 1826 and 1827, so did the amount of relief and many of the applicants were now allowed only 1d. or 2d. a week.

One interesting case which illustrates the method of dealing with regular applicants is worthy of record. Egerton Stott was a cripple, a drunkard, and father of a large family. On his first application for assistance, he was refused; soon afterwards, he was committed to prison for "neglect of his family." On his release, the overseers granted him 7/6d. and a pair of looms, another 7/6d. a week later, and a final 18/- at the end of a month. He was unable to use the loom on account of his lameness and was therefore set to rug-making in the workhouse but allowed to live at home. After a trial of three months, he had shown some considerable success and was "set up" on his own in a rug and mat "manufactory" with instructions "to execute the orders he had received until further notice." That was the last that was heard of Egerton Stott as a pauper.

Sometimes work in the workhouse was imposed on applicants as a condition of relief. There, a weaver had to weave five pieces a week, a labourer was sent "on to the road," while others were ordered "to knock sand" which they sold.

Food in the workhouse was satisfactory. Each inmate had a weekly allowance of 5 lbs. of meal and flour, 1½ lbs. of meat (mutton and beef) with an extra ¼ lb. when the workhouse-fed bacon was exhausted, 7 quarts of milk, and ½ lb. of butter. The master was allowed 3 lbs. of meat for himself but he was not to reckon himself among the inmates and so claim an additional 1½ lbs. Sleeping accommodation was not so good. There were 12 bedrooms with 38 beds and nine other beds for the sick; these, it was stated, will "hold" 150 adult paupers.¹⁹ Four or five children in a bed in a cellar dwelling

19. Preston. County Record Office. PUZ
1-1.

or tenement house was nothing unusual but the same number of adult paupers in one bed must have created a great deal of discomfort. It is little wonder that "Straw for the beds" regularly appeared in the monthly requisitions for the workhouse. In May, 1833, there were 90-100 paupers in the Burnley workhouse and in 1842 the number increased to 148, most of them being inmates at the same time.

Most paupers worked in the garden or in the weaving shed, made roads, dug sand, or were engaged in "winding." Entrance into the workhouse was almost compulsory when outdoor relief was refused, but John Smith, of the "Old Dog Tavern," made his own conditions that when he entered the workhouse he should live separated from his wife. When inmates left the house, they were started in their new home with the minimum requirements; thus, John and Elizabeth Astin with four boys and one girl were provided with three looms, three beds, two "beddings" and "other trifles."

In 1837, the whole system of poor relief was reorganised under the provisions of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act. A union of parishes, known as the Burnley Poor Law Union, was formed and included all parishes from Foulridge to Altham and from Dunnockshaw and Cliviger to Barley; for the better administration of relief, this Union was subdivided into districts and the Burnley District was comprised of Burnley, Habergham Eaves, Briercliffe, Padiham, Worsthorne, Cliviger, Ightenhill Park, Dunnockshaw, Reedley Hallows, Filly Close and New Laund. Guardians from each township in the Union were popularly elected and formed a committee for the management of relief, but though they appointed relieving officers, medical officers, officials of the workhouses, etc., their decisions were subject to the approval of the Poor Law Commissioners in London. Poor rates were levied, outdoor relief was to be abolished except for the sick and infirm, all able bodied paupers were to go into the workhouse, which became known as the "Bastile" on account of the conditions existing there.

To the Committee of Guardians, Burnley elected three members, T. F. Ward, J. Spencer, and T. Bland; Habergham Eaves elected two—Wm. Dugdale and J. Roberts; Ightenhill Park elected W. Anson. The first meeting⁽²⁰⁾ was held at the Bull Inn on Jan. 26th, 1837, and under the chairmanship of Peregrine E. Towneley appointed Thomas Sutcliffe, bookseller, of Burnley to be the registrar, and sent a letter to the Commissioners saying that they would faithfully and zealously

20. Ibid.

carry out their duties. The second and third meetings were adjourned since no guardian attended and only four members were present at the fourth meeting. These decided that the workhouses at Burnley, Colne and Padiham could accommodate all the paupers and that there was no need for a new "Union Workhouse"; in fact, the existing "workhouses could take three times as many as they usually do." Habergham Eaves had no workhouse, but had two cottages where six paupers lived who were provided with provisions, coals, bed-linen and a weekly 2/6d. each. It was decided that the inmates of the cottages should pick oakum or go on the roads. In 1837, there were 132 inmates of the workhouses at Burnley and Padiham and of the cottages in Habergham Eaves; of this number, Royle Road Workhouse accommodated 23 aged and infirm (15 males and eight females), six able-bodied (two males and four females), six boys between the ages of 7 and 13, two girls between the ages of 7 and 16, and ten children under the age of seven years. Various suggestions were made for closing one of the workhouses and rearranging the paupers according to age and sex, but nothing was done at the time. In 1838 it was arranged to use Padiham workhouse for children, Burnley workhouse for able-bodied, and Colne workhouse for the aged and infirm.

In spite of the promises of co-operation made by the guardians in their letter of January 1837 to the Poor Law Commissioners, in the following March, they had to report, somewhat sympathetically, that some townships, including Colne, had not appointed guardians, and that, therefore, "no attempt was to be made to put the Act into operation." The existing guardians gave as their reasons that "there was an unfavourable change in the circumstances of the labouring classes," that "there was no prospect of improvement in the severe distress," that "several mills work only four days a week," and that "the opponents of the Act have incited the poor against it and they are now hostile"; in other words, the guardians considered that the time was most inopportune for introducing such great changes in the Poor Law system. The main objection of the poor to the Act was the abolition of outdoor relief so that they would be forced to enter the workhouse where families would be broken up in separate houses for men, women, and children, and where conditions would be made as hard as possible; local leaders disliked the controlling power of the Poor Law Commissioners who, though ignorant of local conditions, had the power to veto local schemes; others thought that the poor rates would increase on account of the upkeep of the many additional workhouses that would be necessary; the

Vestry thought that it was the sole duty of the Church to look after the poor. Burnley was not alone in its objection to the Act: in Todmorden, disorders seemed likely to become really serious.

It is not known what action was taken by the Commissioners to meet the objections of the Burnley Board of Guardians, but they certainly held regular Board meetings from 1838 onwards. Out-door relief was not abandoned for it was soon found that the workhouses could not accommodate all who were destitute during the period of trade depression.

The salary list of 1843 will show the officials: Broughton (master)—£40 a year; Prowse (schoolmaster and porter at workhouse)—£20; Chaffer (relieving officer)—£70; Dr. Hargreaves (Burnley)—£70; Dr. Coultate (Habergham Eaves)—£40; Dr. Holt (Padiham)—£35; Dr. Smirthwaite (Pendle)—£25; Dr. Buck (Barrowford)—£35; Dr. Ayres (Colne)—£40; Rev. Mr. James (Burnley workhouse chaplain)—£40; Rev. Mr. Adamson (Padiham workhouse chaplain)—£20; Mr. Shaw (clerk to Guardians)—£150; Mr. Holgate (auditor)—£30; Dinah Bulcock (cleaner)—£3/18/- a year.

It would be tedious to examine all the disputes that broke out between the Guardians and their officers; only one or two of the more important will therefore be considered. Medical Officers received a fixed salary and agreed to a fixed scale of payments for certain services, but unfortunately the scale did not include any provision for the supply of leeches, though the doctors had complained and the Poor Law Commissioners had suggested an increase of salary to cover the cost. The matter came to a head when a boy lost the sight of one eye, which according to the medical officer's report might have been saved had leeches been available. There was a stormy interview with the doctor, who stated that he could not afford out of his salary to buy leeches for every case where they might be required. The Guardians decided that in future the relieving officer must make himself responsible for a supply of leeches to meet the needs of the medical officer. Burnley workhouse masters were often in trouble, and there were five changes in less than two years. Early in 1843, the master was dismissed and imprisoned for embezzlement of workhouse funds; his successor was dismissed for being drunk "for five or six days"; a third stayed only six months; and a fourth was accused of cruelty to the paupers and was later dismissed for persuading one of his friends to come and live in the workhouse. A long quarrel was carried on with the officer who was both schoolmaster and porter at the workhouse for a salary

of £20 a year. He quarrelled with the workhouse master, spread a number of rumours about his cruelty, and accused him of causing the death of a boy who had contracted small-pox in the workhouse, but had not been put under the care of the doctor. A public enquiry was held and though evidence showed that there was some small amount of truth in the schoolmaster's assertions, the Guardians "for the sake of discipline in the school" decided to separate the functions of schoolmaster and porter, and appoint a schoolmistress at a salary of £15, leaving the "portership" to the old schoolmaster at a salary of £5. He naturally resigned; the schoolmistress resigned within three months and was replaced by a schoolmaster at a salary of £15 with "rations."

Conditions in the workhouse were by no means satisfactory. Questions had been asked in Parliament in 1842 about the state of affairs in Burnley,⁽²¹⁾ and after the enquiry, conditions slightly improved. In the following year, the new medical officer reported that "The workhouse is at present in a very bad state, there not being any able-bodied women at present in the House competent even for necessary housework. It is absolutely necessary that we have nurses for the sick-room and most decidedly they should be paid nurses." The Board agreed to appoint a nurse for the sick-room and to keep men with contagious diseases in a special ward. An official enquiry affirmed that the workhouse was "dirty and unsatisfactory." A few months later the medical officer reported an outbreak of smallpox among the workhouse children and he demanded a separate sick-room for smallpox patients, baths, stoves for paupers' clothes, and a surgery. The Guardians agreed to provide a separate room, but required time to consider the other requests. A bath was eventually installed but no water was laid on, until an officer of the Poor Law Commissioners told the Guardians that "a bath weekly for each pauper is advisable."

The arrival of numbers of Irishmen in Burnley in 1846 and 1847 created some difficulty. Some were sent back to Ireland at the public expense, while others were lodged in the workhouse, in an outbuilding attached to an inn, and in a building near the Bull and Butcher. The "Irish Fever" broke out among them; in Habergham Eaves, an old man without any qualifications was put in charge of the fever patients at a salary of 1/6d. a week and coal, until the Poor Law Commissioners insisted on the appointment of a nurse at 8/- a week

21. Extracts from Reports of Sir J. Walsham (H. of L. papers).

with food. The fever continued for some time, but the alarm and fears of the Guardians were increased when it was discovered that typhus had broken out in a common lodging house. Nuisance inspectors were appointed to co-operate with the officers of the town's Sanitary Committee, and lodging houses, workhouse rooms and buildings, received frequent washings with "best Clitheroe lime."

Two illustrations will suffice to show the autocratic powers of the Guardians to enforce the strict observance of rules and regulations. In the first case, the wife of Abram Tattersall was ordered to leave the workhouse because "her husband had not come in as well." The second instance may be described by quoting the resolution of the Guardians:—"A bill of 12/6d. for bedding furnished to Ellen Howarth, a sick pauper residing in Habergham Eaves, by the Rev. T. G. James, the Incumbent of the Township, a discretionary order having been given to the Relieving Officer by the Board on the 11th week of the Quarter to provide clothing, bedding and lodging, to hire and remove her and her family from the cellar in which she was living to a more suitable place as required by the Medical Officer, and Mr. James, having reported to the Board that such order had not been obeyed as to the removal of the pauper and that he had caused her to be removed to the cottage taken by the Relieving Officer on Monday last and he paid 12/6d. for the bedding, and the Board, having heard the statement of the Medical officer and the Relieving Officer on the subject, Resolved that in the opinion of the Board, the Rev. Mr. James had no authority to purchase the articles in question and that the sum of 12/6d. be disallowed."

Requisitions for the workhouse are interesting. In addition to meal, flour, meat, brushes, brooms, mops, cloth and such necessities, there is frequent mention of brandy, porter, and Massey's ale (all for the sick), straw for beds, and oil and healds for the looms. On one occasion a strait jacket was purchased. The workhouse master was paid extra for shaving the paupers.

MORAL STANDARDS.

Under the conditions that prevailed in Burnley during the first half of the 19th century, it was inevitable that there should be wide variations in moral standards. Leading citizens of Burnley spoke of its "haunts of sin" and "rookeries of vice," of "profligate characters" and "the licentious place," and on their evidence, it would seem that vice, cruelty and immorality formed the basis of normal conduct

for many people, thus brutalised by their environment. Details of the vices that abounded can easily be found. Mr. B. Moore, writing in 1893 when many slums had been cleared away, said that a married couple, of good parentage, came to Burnley in 1850 and were forced to live in a cellar, where they brought up their family of three girls, and that of their grand-children, all brought up in the slums. seven were in the workhouse, four were living on out-door relief, two were wanted by the police, one was under "remand," one was a prostitute, one a lunatic, one a poacher, one discharged from the army for "bad conduct," one dead from drink, and six were wife-deserters; 12 of them had been charged before the magistrates with various offences. The same writer asserted that in 1893 one-sixth of Burnley's population was living in conditions that gave no pretence to privacy or decency.⁽²²⁾ If such was the wastage of lives in Burnley's slums in the second half of the 19th century, it must have been considerably worse in the first half, when wages were lower, prices of food higher, and unemployment more common. Two murder cases, tried at the Lancaster Assizes, show the brutality that was engendered by wretchedness. In one case of 1841, two youths compelled an old and crippled man to climb the steps outside his cellar and then threw him back with such violence that he died immediately; one of the youths, who was caught, tried and executed, maintained that "it was all a game."⁽²³⁾ In the second case of 1826, a drunken man kicked his wife and left her lying on the floor of the inn; two other men agreed to take the woman to her home, but when she collapsed in Colne Road they left her to die from loss of blood.⁽²⁴⁾ Such are outstanding cases of wanton brutality. Drunkenness, gambling, cursing, profanation of the Sabbath were very common offences and brought despair to those who strove to raise the moral standard of the town.

Churches, chapels, and philanthropic societies united to fight the evils in Burnley. "The Anti-Vice and Immorality Society" was founded in 1851 and had as its leaders, the Revs. Mosley Master, Laycock, Wilson, Evans, Strachan, and Messrs. J. Barnes, Henry Kay and P. Phillips; its members visited the slums and gave help to the sick, and at the same time made every effort to check the spread of evil by reporting flagrant cases of vice and abuse to the magistrates. A "Temperance Society" attacked the problem of beerhouses and the sale of drink; Savings Banks and Sick Societies encouraged thrift; prayer meetings and religious services were held in the very

22. Burnley Gazette, Sept. 23th, 1895.

24. Ibid.

23. P.R.O. P.L. 27-11 Series 1.

heart of the slums. After many years and with the help of local and national governments which enforced reforms, the work of eradicating the worst of the evils in the town made great progress.

It is easy to emphasise the sordid state of Burnley's social life, and to forget the brighter and more hopeful aspects. Among the labouring classes, including those who lived in the "low parts" of the town, there were very many decent and honest folk who showed kindness and gave what help they could to less fortunate neighbours. If proof were needed of a very large number of poor people who hated the evil that surrounded them, it may be seen in the enormous success of the voluntary day schools, where hundreds of children received a very elementary education in return for the hard-earned weekly 1d. or 2d. contributed by the parents; it may also be found in the phenomenal success of Sunday Schools, situated in or near the "low parts" of the town, which were often too small to accommodate all the children who wished to attend. Above all, one should remember the efforts of churches and chapels, attended by rich and poor alike; the poor might not be the leaders, but they were very willing helpers in a good cause.

Regulations made by local Sunday schools show the puritan attitude to public conduct and manners that was characteristic of Victorian times. The rules were "narrow-minded" but they served the purpose of fixing standards to be observed in an age when moral restrictions were too few, e.g., No young people must go courting on Sundays and no single people must walk arm in arm in the streets at any time, nor must they stand talking together at street corners; girl singers in the choir must not wear bows on their bonnets. It was the work of day schools and Sunday schools to inculcate respect for old people, hatred of cruelty, and a love for virtues that had almost been forgotten.

LAW AND ORDER.

The enforcement of law and the arrest of offenders must have proved a difficult matter until the institution of the modern police system in 1840. The head constable and the paid assistant constable with their watchmen and "specials" could rely on the help of the military in checking riots and arresting political offenders, but they had to rely on their own initiative in dealing with the ordinary cases of robbery, disorderly conduct, assault, and other numerous but perhaps minor offences. It is doubtful whether they did make very

serious efforts to deal with any but the most flagrant cases, for one or two part-time officers could scarcely take action in all the many infringements of the law that would occur at festivals, markets, fairs, and public holidays. The sound of the watchman's voice at night giving out a weather report may have given a sense of security to the inhabitants but the presence of a watchman in the late evening would not deter a gang of drunken men from fighting, if they so wished.

At the beginning of the century, magistrates held their private sessions at their own homes, but by 1824 four Justices living in or near the town, attended a Court at Burnley every Monday in rotation.⁽²⁵⁾ Fines or imprisonment in the stocks were the usual punishments for minor offences; more serious cases were sent for trial at the Quarter Sessions, where long terms of imprisonment could be imposed. Punishment by confinement in the stocks could only be enforced after a trial by a magistrate. The constable, however, exercised a wide latitude of authority in their use, because he had full legal powers to detain any wrong-doers, particularly dangerous and violent, until the magistrates could hold the trial; it was an easy matter for the constable to use the stocks for five or six hours as a place of detention for a drunken man, while making up his mind whether to report the offence to the magistrates. Often enough, there was no report made, but people began to assume that the constable had the right to punish minor offences. The stocks appear to have been in frequent use up to 1833; in that year, 16 soldiers were confined in them. After 1833 they were only used at infrequent intervals; in 1848 two men were "detained" in them, prior to their removal to Preston, and four years later, two men were again confined. Later, magistrates usually gave to those who were found guilty of drunkenness the option of a fine or imprisonment in the stocks for six hours; usually the fine was paid. The sentence of fine or "stocks" was given in the following cases:—1859—13, 1860—2, 1861—4, 1862—3, 1863—1, 1864—1, 1865—3. One of the three persons sentenced in 1865 did prefer the six hours in the stocks; this was the last occasion when the Burnley stocks were used. In 1881, the stocks were removed from their position at the bottom of Ormerod Road and placed in the copse near the Grammar School.

In Pendle Forest, where it was impossible for Richard Boardwell, the Forest Greave, to protect property on all the farms, particularly in times of distress, the farmers themselves in 1819 formed "The Pendle Forest Association for the Pre-

25. Directory of 1824.

venting or Prosecuting of Felonies." The bond or association was recognised by law and all forest officials, such as the parish clerk at Newchurch had to give their help and support; it was to last for 20 years. The great advantage to the individual members of the Association was that it bore the heavy law charges incurred by a prosecution, while at the same time, the potential stealer well knew that a prosecution would certainly follow, if he were caught. The subscription varied from 2/- to 7/- a year, and annual meetings were held in turn at the Sparrow Hawk in Wheatley Lane, The Horse and Gate in Fence, The Four Alls in Higham, the George and Dragon in Barrowford, and the Lamb in Newchurch.

During the whole of its existence for 20 years, there were only four prosecutions for theft, three warrants issued, and one demand for an apology from a farm labourer. Such a record is all the more remarkable because it covered the worst periods of social distress. Two resolutions passed at the last annual meeting, held at the George and Dragon on February 12th, 1839, are worthy of notice: "That this meeting cannot separate without recording their opinion that this Association has been of great and valuable service to the members of the Association and conducive to the peace of the Forest, in operating more as a preventative than a punishment of crime, as is evident from the few prosecutions which have taken place at the expense of the Association since its formation"; "That this meeting looks back with much gratification to the frequent opportunities they have had of meeting in a friendly and convivial manner, and express their hope that notwithstanding the termination of this Association, other opportunities will occur of keeping up that friendly intercourse to which they have hitherto been accustomed." One wonders whether the sentiment expressed in the latter resolution gave rise to the present Pendle Farmers' Association.

INNS AND TAVERNS.

Many criticisms were levelled against the large number of inns, taverns, and beershops in Burnley. Magistrates, philanthropists and temperance advocates repeatedly pointed out that whole families were gin-addicts with ruined health and diseased minds; that poverty was increased while vice flourished among the taverns; and that drunkenness degraded character and led to crime and cruelty. Many poor people undoubtedly tried to forget their misery by taking intoxicants in public houses where they gave voice to their grievances amidst the pandemonium and noisy arguments of

the crowds that assembled there. Gin and beer were very cheap and soon the stage of stupor was reached often to be followed by outbursts of savage brutality. Such a state of affairs had been common in Burnley for many years; it seemed worse in the 19th century because the consumption of intoxicants was much larger than ever before, far more poor people were affected, and taverns were more numerous in the slums than anywhere else.

Even before 1800, the case against alehouses had been stated in a letter,⁽²⁶⁾ dated Sept. 26th, 1782, written by Sergeant Aspinall of Standen, in which he refused to support the application of a man named Crabtree to open an alehouse in Habergham Eaves: "They are the nests of thieves and the nurseries of all manner of vice and wickedness, for they tempt the industrious poor to spend the honest earnings of their labour and reduce their wives and children to the necessity of flying to the town for relief. We have in this Hundred (of Blackburn) at least 300 alehouses, besides those in Clitheroe. Every idle fellow who is too lazy to work thinks that if he can keep ale he can fatten upon the folly and vice of his poor neighbours." The magistrate would have couched his letter in far more vigorous terms, had he lived in Burnley in 1840.

Beer was a very common drink with most families and even boys from St. Peter's were given a "cup of ale" when they attended the laying of a foundation stone at Holy Trinity, an event that coincided with the coronation of William IV. Home-brewed beer was not made to the same extent as formerly, but there was a very plentiful supply to be obtained. In addition to the public houses, there were "hush-shops" where beer was sold without licence, cottages which possessed illicit stills for the making of spirits, while some mills brewed and sold ale at a cheap rate to their operatives. Some tavern-keepers could not write but chalked up the debts of their customers as symbols—a full moon represented 1/-, a half-moon 6d., a long stroke 1d., and a short stroke $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

Magistrates had some control over public-houses and the sale of beer, wine and spirits, until the Beer Act of 1830 practically abolished all restrictions on the sale of beer. The Government of 1830 maintained that the consumption of spirits had increased to such an extent that the sale of beer, "the national drink," was declining; a revival of the habit of beer-drinking was also desirable in order to encourage

26. Copy in Central Library, Burnley.

farmers and agricultural interests. To increase the sale of beer, Parliament passed an Act which allowed any householder to sell beer, if he paid £2 for a licence and found securities of £40; he could keep open house from 4 a.m. to 10 p.m. except on Sundays, Good Fridays, Christmas Days, and Fast Days, when his hours were 4 a.m.—10 a.m., 1 p.m.—3 p.m., and 5 p.m.—10 p.m.; the police had no authority to enter the house and no action could be taken against the beerseller, however badly his house might be kept, provided that he paid for a licence and found his securities.

The result of the Act in Burnley was that far more beershops were opened than were necessary; some could not meet the competition while others resorted to nefarious methods to attract custom. When Fulleage was being developed shortly after 1850, one leading citizen of Burnley considered erecting a chain of beerhouses in the district, appointing managers, and supplying beer from a central brewery; he would thus, he hoped, secure a monopoly there. The situation became so bad generally that the Gladstone Ministry of 1868-74 proposed a new set of Licensing Laws. The Burnley Board of Guardians petitioned Parliament to make a change and pointed out that there was no efficient control over beerhouses; that there was no encouragement to beersellers to keep decent and well regulated houses, since the good landlords could not compete against the bad ones, who laid "snares for unwary young men and women"; and that as there was no legal limit to the number of beerhouses in the town, respectable beersellers were compelled by competition to resort to undesirable practices. The Guardians suggested that all places where beer was sold should be put under the control of Justices of the Peace, who should issue licences and have the power to cancel them.

In 1824, there were 26 hotels, inns, and taverns in Burnley; in 1851 there were 26 hotels and inns, 43 taverns, and 42 beerhouses, numbers which remained unchanged in 1867 except for the beerhouses which had increased to 97; in 1893 there were 86 public houses and 89 beerhouses. Some of the beerhouses of 1840-50 (and later) bore interesting names:—Crown and Kettle (later Uncle Tom's Cabin on the site of the Market Hall); the Jolly Sailor in Rodney Street; the Spotted Dog and the Bird in Hand in Brown Street; the Cotton Tree and the Hand and Shuttle in Newtown; Boiler Makers' Arms in the Croft; Seven Stars in Yorkshire Street; Druids Arms and Oddfellows Tavern near the Hall Inn; Old England for Ever in Gunsmith Lane; Rose and Shamrock (for the Irish) and the Dairy in the Park; Blue Bell, Millstone, Old Dog,

Horse and Farrier, and Pine Apple, all in Wapping; and Poet's Corner, first near the Hall Inn and then transferred to Curzon Street.

A crusade against the evils of intemperance was begun. Messrs. John Barnes and W. Whittam founded the Town and Temperance Mission, and many Sunday schools had their own temperance societies, e.g., 1846 Mount Pleasant Sabbath School Total Abstinence Society (then belonging to the United Methodist Free Church). Meetings were regularly held, lectures were given, and great success seems to have attended their efforts.

SPORTS AND PASTIMES.

The darker side of Burnley life, which has loomed very large in this and previous chapters, was offset, to some extent, by the keen enjoyment which people derived from their many forms of sport and pastime. One must remember, however, that the modern system of organising sports in leagues and official clubs did not exist until late in the 19th century.

The kind of sport in Burnley and district in the 18th century is shown by an order issued in 1751 by two local Justices, Richard Whitehead and H. T. Blackmore. It stated that "idle persons practice leaping, football, quoits, bowls, hunting, tippling in alehouses, swearing and cursing" and "profane the Sabbath and absent themselves from Divine Service" and that they incur for each offence a penalty of 3/4d. (which would be given to the poor-box) or confinement in the stocks for three hours; the constable, churchwardens and overseers of the poor were ordered to enforce the order. This notice was issued to deter people from indulging in Sunday sports and it is reported that two youths were punished for playing football on a Sunday in a field near Heasandford. The "hunting" consisted in hare and rabbit coursing.

In the early 19th century, Burnley people were fond of all manner of sports. Foot-races, sack-races, and donkey-races were a common feature of life at the Hole in the Wall and created great enthusiasm. The course for the foot-races began at the inn, proceeded down Sandygate, by Westgate to Gannow Lane Top, and then by Barracks Road back to the inn; the first prize was a hat, valued at 7/6d. Races were also held at Duke Bar; the course lay along Colne Road as far as Reedley. Runners took their sport very seriously and went into training, which was often carried out at Pendle Bottom. About 1854, a Burnley Grammar School boy was regarded as the "champion" sprinter of Lancashire.

Knur-and-spell contests were organised and sometimes with teams from neighbouring villages. "Stone-bowling" was common on roads with a good and regular surface; the "bowling-stone" was of a short cylindrical shape, about 3 inches in diameter and 1 inch wide at the edge, which was often bevelled to counteract the camber of the road. Some of the stones were remarkable specimens of accurate chiselling and show the great interest that must have been taken in the game. Rounders and tip-cat were favourite games with both adults and children. Coursing was carried on, and news of a foxhunt, arranged by the Towneleys or the Starkies, was sufficient to draw men from their work in order to follow on foot and see as much of the sport as they could.

Football was played but it is doubtful whether any football club had a long experience as a recognised body. Cricket was supported and played by the professional and upper middle classes and consequently held a more exalted position as a sport. Mr. E. Whittaker has written a detailed history of the Burnley Cricket Club, from which it is learnt that it was first known as the "Trafalgar Club" and played a match (probably among its members) in the Bull Croft as early as 1828. The founders were John Stadders, John and George Holgate, Robert Wilson, Richard Eastwood and John Tattersall, all leading citizens of Burnley. From the Bull Croft, the club removed to Stoneyholme and then to Healey Heights. An away match, which seems to have been the first, was played at Holme against a team from Bacup; Burnley's opponents, however, reinforced their team with some of the best players from a Rochdale club, so that John Stadders and his friends lost the match. By 1833 the club had taken the title of "The Burnley Cricket Club." It left Healey Heights, took a field near Red Lion Street, and eventually in 1843 found a home at Turf Moor. Here they played Bacup, Preston, Blackburn, Skipton, Halifax, Oldham, Rochdale and Ovenden; there was, of course, no League in existence, so that all matches were arranged privately and separately. The Committee of 1846 was composed of James Folds, treasurer; John Beeston, secretary; H. Palmer; James Greenwood; J. J. Smith; G. E. McCabe, head constable; Thomas Pilling; G. Stevenson, Richard and George Brown, Miles Veevers, George Holgate and Benjamin Bell; many of the Committee were also regular members of the team. The annual subscription was 5/- and it was decided that "no person be allowed to dine with members of the club unless introduced by four bona fide members." For two seasons, 1845 and 1846, the club had a field near Duke Bar, but returned to Turf Moor in the following year and

raised the annual subscription to 10/-. The first professional was a Yorkshireman named Dearden, who came to Burnley for a salary of 30/- a week to coach the team in the new fashioned art of "round arm bowling." The social side of cricket was not neglected and, when a match was over, the players adjourned to the Bull Inn for a beefsteak supper.

The only other cricket club, known to have existed before 1850, was the "Albion Club" which may have originated when some of the Burnley Cricket Club decided to move to Turf Moor. A match between the two teams was arranged on August 5th, 1846, the winner to keep the ball.

Annual race meetings were held in August for some years before 1840 when they ceased probably through lack of support. There were four races on each of the two days of the meeting, and on each day there was one race limited to "gentlemen riders." The first races were held at Turf Moor but the race-course was later stationed on Healey Heights.

Some Burnley sports were far less reputable. Cock-fighting was carried on at most inns and taverns, but the Tim Bobbin is said to have been the favourite place for such contests; the present George IV in the same district was originally called "The Fighting Cocks." Taverns in Wapping were notorious for many "baitings" and at the Black Dog (kept in 1820 by a Waterloo veteran with a pension of 6d. a day) there was an occasional badger baiting. The last bull-baiting in Burnley is reported to have taken place at the Hole in the Wall about 1760: the same place had also witnessed a bear-baiting which ended in disaster to the clothes of a spectator when he frantically scrambled through a hedge to get away from a bear that had escaped.

THEATRES, AMUSEMENTS AND MUSIC.

A room in the Hall Inn was the chief theatre in Burnley in the early part of the 19th century. "Othello" was played there in 1814 and a skull is said to have been kept on the premises for the use of those companies which wished to play "Hamlet." In addition to Shakespearean plays, Burnley audiences could listen to Marlowe's tragedies or Gay's "Beggar's Opera." The prices of admission were 2/- and 1/-. Two of the most famous players who visited the Hall Inn Theatre were James Elton and Harriet Mellon; the latter married the banker Coutts and later the Duke of St. Albans. Bankhouse Barn and other rooms and buildings in Burnley were also occasionally used as theatres.

A theatre in Boot Street was opened in October, 1853. During its first week, Mr. McKean Buchanan, late of Drury Lane, and his "famous caste" presented on successive nights *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, *Othello*, *Richard III*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. Front boxes were 1/- and pit and side boxes only 6d. It was impossible to maintain such a high standard and in the first week of January, 1854, the artistes were William Pablo, the world's wonder ceiling walker, Mon. Dupoint, a contortionist from Paris, Mons. Carol Latorzski, a French clown and barrel-vaulter, and Young Herr Christoff, a rope performer; the prices were not increased even for such an array of talent. A month later, "The famous play—Wallace, the Hero of Scotland" was performed for one night only and was followed by "A comic pantomime—The Ice Witch." The theatre in Boot Street was called "The Theatre Royal" but its existence was not a long one; it was revived under the same name in Howarth's factory in Brown Street a few years later. About 1858, a music hall behind the Market Tavern was opened; it gloried in "300 plush-covered seats." At one period in its existence, the admission fee of 3½d. gave a right to a seat and a pint of ale.

Quite distinct from the theatres and music halls were the travelling circuses and shows. These came fairly frequently to the town and must have been a source of great joy and wonderment to the young. At Fair-time they were much more numerous and thrilling. At the Fair of 1853, one might have seen monkeys, bears, elephants, lions and tigers, fat children, a child with two heads, "monsters of the deep," and, if all that were not sufficient, one might have visited the tent where the best of "Hamlet" was enacted in less than 30 minutes.

The Directory of 1818 refers to "the mineral spring recently discovered in Habergham Eaves 2½ miles away, which is considered a certain cure for scurvy, gives relief to those afflicted with gravel, and is used for many other disorders. There is good accommodation for bathing and coaches and carriages arrive daily." This was the spring which gave a name to Spa Clough, where the Cemetery is now situated. The water tasted of sulphuretted hydrogen and possessed the disagreeable smell associated with such water; locally, it was thought to be good for rheumatism. An enterprising man erected a building, called "The Spa House," where, for 1d. one might drink the waters or bathe in them; it became so popular that stalls were set up for the sale of sweets and pies. Some years later a similar spring was found near the Canal Bridge at the top of Westgate, probably near the present Belle

Vue Mill, and though a few suggestions were made that it might be financially profitable to make a Spa, nothing was done. An attempt to popularise some gardens off Hudding Lane was made about 1850. Here, one was invited to visit "the fruit and pleasure gardens, the labyrinth or puzzle-walk, and a small zoological collection"; it was intended to add to the collection to make a menagerie. Admission to everything was quite free but it was hoped that visitors would buy at the stalls.

MUSIC.

It is unfortunate that so few records have been preserved about the earliest musical activities in the town. At the beginning of the century, fiddlers played at weddings, country dances, and celebrations, and bands led processions, but that is nearly all that is known. The earliest record of serious music in Burnley was a performance of the Messiah at St. Peter's in 1803;⁽²⁷⁾ William Smith was at that time the organist.⁽²⁸⁾ Mr. Charles Morine, who became the organist at St. Peter's in 1837 was probably the son of Mr. Morine, organist in 1817 at the old Catholic Chapel in Burnley Wood; Charles lived at Well House with his sister who kept a private school: a brother became a music teacher in Edinburgh and published several pieces of his own composition. Thomas Healey,⁽²⁹⁾ born in 1793, was an organist, cello player, and a very keen musician. He founded an orchestra (with bassoons and flutes, horns and serpents, and drums), in the late forties, succeeded Richard Parkinson as conductor of the Burnley Choral Society, started similar societies at Sion and St. Mary's, and taught the art of handbell ringing to a body of men at St. Peter's Church. In the fifties, George Stansfield conducted an orchestra and gave concerts of classical music that were much appreciated.

SELF-HELP MOVEMENTS.

In addition to several charitable schemes which were inaugurated to help the poor, there were many clubs established with the object of encouraging thrift and of giving an opportunity to the poor to benefit themselves by their own exertions.

The most important "Burnley Savings Bank" was started on January 5th, 1828, in order to encourage thrift.⁽³⁰⁾

27. Wilkinson—History of Church p. 63.

28. Ch. Reg.

29. Kneeshaw—Burnley in the 19th Century, p. 103.

30. Preston. County Record Office ODS 3-1.

The President was the Reverend R. Mosley Master and the trustees included Peregrine Towneley, John and James Hargreaves, Lawrence Halstead, Le Gendre N. Starkie, Richard Lomax, Theodore Heelis, and Edward Margerison. The rules, as originally made, stated that 1/- was the minimum deposit in any one year, and not more than £200 in all. The monies were invested in the Bank of England and each depositor in the Savings Bank received £4 per cent on every complete 12/6d. invested. In 1829 the total sum that could be invested was fixed at £150 and the interest at £3/6/8d. per cent. In 1848 there were 1387 depositors with a total deposit of £42815; in 1852 there were 1427 accounts totalling £40027. Owing to the growth of building societies, co-operative societies, and Post Office Savings Banks, the existence of a Burnley Savings Bank became no longer necessary; all existing depositors were therefore asked to withdraw their monies and the Bank ceased to function at the end of 1889.

The earliest building society in Burnley was the Hall Union Club which was formed with a limited membership to build the "Clubhouses" in the district of Brown Street; when the houses were finished, they were allotted to the members and the Society was dissolved. It was therefore not a building society as the term is understood at the present time. Nor was the "Burnley Building Society" of approximately 1820 to 1840 a building society of the present type. The few available records of transactions carried on by the Society show that membership was limited and that shares were issued of £120 each; any person wishing to make use of the advantages offered by the Society mortgaged the land on which he intended to build property to the Society to the extent of the cost of erecting the property. The mortgage loan was issued as "shares." Two of the Presidents of the Society were Edward Lovatt, 1824, the Towneley agent, and Robert Lupton, 1833, grocer. The present Burnley Building Society was founded in 1850.

Two attempts were made to establish a Burnley Co-operative Society before success was achieved in 1860. Its history is therefore outside the scope of the present book.

The chief Friendly Societies in Burnley before 1850 were the Rechabites, the Foresters (before 1834) and the Odd-fellows (1834). They had an annual procession and "club-day" on June 24th.

Sick and Burial Societies were fairly numerous. "The National and Sunday School Sick Society" was founded in 1828 in connection with St. Peter's Church and School; it

owed its remarkable success to the untiring efforts of William Muschamp, to whose memory the Society erected a tablet in the Church. "The Benevolent and Strangers Friend Society" in connection with Mount Pleasant United Free Methodist Church, and "The Keighley Green Wesleyan Sunday School Sick Society" were both started in 1836; contributions were 1d. a week with an allowance of 4/- a week in case of sickness. At the end of six years, the Keighley Green Society had 143 members on its books and £35/7/- in the Bank. Sick Societies were also founded in other schools of the town. The miners of Burnley established their "Miners' Sick and Burial Society" in 1846.

SUMMARY.

To summarise the life of Burnley people in the first half of the 19th century is really difficult, for the town was passing through a transition stage and life was becoming far more complex. The era of the village with its slow and methodical ways had passed away, and in its place had grown a town where people lived a harder, more exacting and more competitive life in industry. Cottage spinning had disappeared in face of the advent of mill machinery and the handloom weaver was beginning to find it more profitable to become a factory hand. For spinners and weavers, dyers and printers, miners and foundry workers, cheap, insanitary dwellings were built to form congested narrow streets, alleys and courts. In such places, poverty, squalor, and disease were nearly always to be found.

The effect of the industrial changes on the people varied. Some became careless and apathetic and sought their pleasures in the taverns; others remained alive to their grievances and fought a bitter struggle for improvement. The Victoria County History has summed up the outlook of the latter class in these words:—"The aspirations of the Lancashire artisan took a strongly practical turn. All he asked was a fair wage and peace and plenty in the homestead, and it was with such simple ideals in his mind that he sought to satisfy his manly craving for at least equality of opportunity and fair play." Although Parliamentary legislation had shortened his working hours, and Wesleyanism had civilised and sobered him, he yet realised that he must needs fight for still more improvements. From the ranks of the artisans came the Burnley radicals and Chartists. Some of them zealously guarded their local rights and dared to break the gates that had been erected on the road to Royle to prevent Irishmen and others from using the road on Sundays as a

recreation ground ; others were agitators who “ united churches and mills in the same category, and expressed an ardent hope that both should be involved in one common conflagration.”⁽³¹⁾ Many of the poor, on the other hand, sought the comfort of religion and helped in the alleviation of both moral and physical suffering.

Another section of Burnley people sought advantage from the industrial changes, and, starting as comparatively poor men, became leaders in industry ; some of them achieved success by hard work and careful use of their resources ; others reached their aim by sheer ability of an inventive genius and hard and unremitting work. Many of these leaders were good, honest Christians and did their best for their workers. There were also the leaders of movements—men who devoted their spare time to the cause of good ; such men were William Whitam, the town missionary and temperance advocate, William Muschamp, the founder of a sick society, the local preachers, the prayer leaders, and the superintendents and teachers in Sunday Schools ; nor should one forget those who founded musical societies, and those lovers of knowledge who inspired the foundation of libraries and adult educational classes.

Social life in Burnley was therefore far more “ many-sided ” than ever before in its history, but it was on the ultimate outcome of the constant struggles of sections of the community for better conditions of life, a higher moral tone, and a higher standard of education that the future of Burnley depended.

31. Cook Taylor—*Tour through the Man.*
Towns p. 97.

CHAPTER XI.

Labour Troubles, 1750-1850.

Labour disputes during the period 1750 to 1850 were almost entirely due to a temporary or permanent failure of wages to keep a fixed ratio with the prices of food and other essentials. In normal years, the low wages that were paid were just sufficient to enable workers to live, but when prices rose or wages fell even for a few months, the poor suffered hardship and starvation. Their misery found an outlet in strikes and disturbances.

In the 18th century, the price of bread, whether made from oats, barley or wheat, inevitably rose when crops failed. The three most serious famine years in this period were 1727-8, 1739-40, and 1756-7, but "during the remainder of the century prices were rarely moderate enough to prevent outbreaks of violence."⁽¹⁾ There are no records by which we can judge the effects of the 1727-8 famine in Burnley, except that the leaders of the parish made a searching enquiry into the state of the "poor stock,"⁽²⁾ i.e. money and equipment used for the relief of the poor. The distress of 1739-40, which was accompanied by rioting in the colliery districts of Durham and Northumberland, and in Wales, was marked in Burnley by the purchase of oatmeal to be sold for ready money "to any of the poor inhabitants who shall have occasion."⁽³⁾ Bread prices rose again in 1753 and rioting broke out in Manchester, where artisans claimed higher wages to meet the higher prices. In 1756-7 a cold wet spring was followed by the failure of the crops and "wheat and oats were double the ordinary prices, trade was bad, and the people starving;"⁽⁴⁾ to add to the misery in Burnley, there was an epidemic and the mortality rate was doubled.⁽⁵⁾ Wages, however, lagged far behind the rise in prices, and "combinations" or unions of workmen, which had existed secretly for some time in the larger towns, now came out into the open.

The preceding chapter has shown that up to 1756 the chief economic threat to the happiness of the working classes came from any rise in prices, but to this evil was added after 1756 the curse of unemployment, falling wages and restricted markets. "It is not too much to say that the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in 1756 marks the beginning of a century

1. Wadsworth and Mann—*The Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancashire* p. 356.
2. Churchwardens' Accounts.

3. *Ibid.*
4. Wadsworth and Mann p. 359.
5. Parish Registers.

of unrest in England, in which economic causes have to be regarded as the effects of political causes.... The position attained by the average workman in 1750 was not reached again until the end of this period (1850). The price of food suffered great fluctuations and at times rose to an enormous height, while remuneration lagged behind, and employment was uncertain. At various times the unrest broke out into open riots, and in these riots resentment against economic changes was an incident.”⁽⁶⁾

The war years of 1793-1802 were fairly prosperous for Lancashire because wages were high and there was plenty of work. The adoption of larger spinning jennies, frames, and mules in factories had certainly ruined spinning as a domestic industry but the handloom weaver, unaffected, as yet, by the power-loom, reaped the benefit of a cheap and ample supply of yarn. From 1802 to 1815, prosperity was not quite so pronounced but there was no very great suffering. During these years, English goods were in great demand in Europe, for industries on the Continent had been ruined by the constant drain of men and money which people suffered, under compulsion, to maintain the armies of Napoleon or, later, offered for the purpose of resisting the French invaders.

After 1815, as an aftermath of the long wars, came the years of wretchedness when prices remained high and wages fell lower and lower. The overseas market closed down since European countries were too poor to buy their former quantities of English goods and had begun to re-establish their own industries. Lancashire manufacturers began to compete with one another for orders in the restricted market, wages were reduced, longer hours had to be worked in factories and at cottage handlooms to earn sufficient to live, while many workers were unemployed. To make matters worse, demobilised soldiers and sailors returned to their homes to find no demand for their labour. Disease and starvation, insanitary conditions at home and unremitting toil in factories and cottages soon raised the death rate.

Mr. Ecroyd of the Lomeshaye Mills considered that the distress among local textile workers was due to three primary causes. Trade was depressed because the output from the Continental handloom weavers had increased to such an extent that European countries were no longer dependent on British supplies. Wages were low because “a horde of immigrants” had come into the district, attracted by the high

6. Daniels—Early English Cotton Industry p. 83.

wages paid during the war; inventions, that could be applied to the handloom, had made weaving almost a mechanical process, easy to be learned by the old and infirm, children, and Irish agricultural labourers, and, as the rate of pay for each woven piece must be the same for all, the strong adult's wage tended to fall to that of a child or a feeble old man. Unemployment was rife because there were not enough local trades to absorb all the available labour, and only those were employed who were willing to accept a wage that was barely sufficient to keep body and soul together.

The policy of the Government during the economic crisis that followed the Napoleonic Wars tended to incite rather than allay the passions of the unemployed. The income tax was abolished and extra revenue to meet the swollen National Debt was raised by heavy duties on goods; the Corn Laws, which had been passed to help the farmers, kept up the price of bread; the press was censored; combinations of workmen were punished; political meetings were prohibited unless sanctioned by the local authority; paid government "informers" were to be found in almost every town. To all these sources of trouble were added the effects of a very large paper currency which brought fluctuations in prices, with consequent ruin to manufacturer and wage earner alike. Other grievances fostered discontent among the workers, e.g. few of them had a share in local government, none of them had a Parliamentary vote.

Workers offered various remedies. Some blamed the machines, others attacked the Government; some denounced the Corn Laws, others demanded a vote for all over 21 years of age; some condemned the Poor Laws, others spoke bitterly of the Game Laws; some called for a revision of those laws which seemed to favour the rich, others insisted on the abolition of private ownership and a nearer equality among all in wealth, salaries and wages. In face of what they considered the unreasonable refusal of the Government to discuss their grievances and in view of the unemployment and the low wages which reduced them to a state of semi-starvation, the workers considered that the only course open to them was to defy the law, form their trade unions, and, if necessary, resort to violence.

In defence of the policy adopted by the first ministry of Lord Liverpool 1815-1822, it must be remembered that the times were extraordinarily difficult. The lack of activity in England's foreign markets at the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the increased taxation to meet the heavy national debt were problems that would not have been solved by the mere

grant of manhood suffrage, even had the Cabinet been sympathetic to such a demand. The abolition of the income tax was effected to fulfil a parliamentary promise made many years before by Pitt the Younger; the Corn Laws, which undoubtedly kept up the price of bread, represented to many statesmen of the time a sound scheme to make agriculture prosperous and so render the country independent of foreign supplies, particularly in time of war when shipping was hampered, and to encourage young farmers and farm labourers to stay on the land. The Cabinet considered that economic causes had brought on the distress, which therefore must be quietly and calmly endured until in course of time trade revived, when matters would adjust themselves; meanwhile, political disturbances and public criticism of the government likely to lead to violence must be sternly held in check.

TROUBLES IN LANCASHIRE.

Long before the introduction of machinery and the building of large factories, outbreaks had occurred in the Manchester district among the handloom workers.⁽⁷⁾ In 1756, the Manchester smallware weavers formed a trade society and claimed higher wages. Two years later, the check weavers' society began to enrol members and to levy contributions, and, when the masters threatened legal proceedings, went on strike with demands for fixed payment for weaving a definite number of yards and recognition of their society with its "box." After various attempts to arrive at a compromise, the strike collapsed. Legal action against the strikers had, however, already begun, and at the Assizes, after making their submission, the strikers were admonished and fined 1s. each. Masters in the smallware worsted trade then invoked the aid of the law against their workers' society; once more, submission was made and promises were made to dissolve the society and to work at the recognised rates of pay.

The spirit of the handloom weavers was not broken by the failure of their early efforts to secure higher rates of pay and within a few years disputes became quite common and Lancashire "was covered with a network of societies."⁽⁸⁾

The position of the workers generally, and of the spinning section in particular, was made much worse by the recent textile inventions.⁽⁹⁾ No one could view with equanimity or sympathy the advent of a machine that threatened

7. Based on Wadsworth and Mann—Cotton Trade and Industrial Lancs.

8. Wadsworth and Mann p. 375.

9. Based on Hammond — The Skilled Labourer.

his livelihood. Attacks were made on Hargreaves' house by Blackburn spinners and Arkwright's mill was destroyed by a mob at Chorley. Peel's mill at Altham, where Arkwright's inventions had been adopted was burnt down in 1776. "Wigan, Bolton, Blackburn, Preston and Manchester were all visited or threatened by mobs who destroyed in those districts all jennies with more than 20 spindles, leaving those with 20 or fewer spindels, which they held to be 'fair machines' as they could be used in cottages."⁽⁹⁾ Masters maintained that the number of handlooms had trebled and that there would be a very serious shortage of yarn if the new machines were stopped, and further pointed out that a jenny spinner (in a factory) could earn 2s. or 2s. 6d. a day in contrast to the 3d. or 4d. that a woman could earn with one spindle. Spinners argued that a woman now earning 3d. or 5d. a day with one spindle had been able to make sixteen years ago 10d. to 1s. 3d. a day and that the work was better done by small jennies in the home than by large ones in the factories. "The jennies are in the hands of the poor," they said. "the patent machines are generally in the hands of the rich."⁽¹⁰⁾ After 1779 there were no further attacks on spinning machinery, and cottage spinning gradually died out.

An ample supply of yarn from spinning factories was of great benefit to handloom weavers, and since the power loom was not generally adopted until well into the 19th century, domestic textile workers occupied a favourable position for a few years after 1786. Their good fortune did not last and a weaver who had earned 22s. for weaving 44 yards of cloth in 1792 had to accept 11s. for 60 yards in 1799. An agitation for better pay was begun, but England was then fighting for its very existence against the French and the Government replied to the demands of the workers by passing the first Combination Act which forbade the right to combine both to employers and employees. Weavers then petitioned Parliament to regulate wages from time to time; the appeals were answered by an Act that provided for arbitration in all cases of trade disputes. The Act was of some value as long as its spirit was observed but there were so many ways by which its effectiveness could be nullified that it was soon allowed to lapse. In 1801 "the children were half-fed" owing to distress and famine; riots seemed likely and magistrates proposed to take strong measures against those who used seditious language and propagated "doctrines subversive of the foundations of society."⁽¹¹⁾ It is clear that some workers had already begun to think that their only hope

10. Hammond. p. 56.

11. Ibid. p. 66.

of better days lay in a radical alteration of the constitution. Another Arbitration Act was passed but workers never availed themselves of its provisions.

Petitions from weavers poured into Parliament asking that a minimum wage should be fixed. One in 1807 was signed by 130,000 weavers from Lancashire, Cheshire and Yorkshire and pointed out "that whenever the demand for goods becomes slack, many Master Manufacturers adopt the expedient of reducing wages, thereby compelling weavers, in order to obtain a livelihood, to manufacture great quantities of goods at a time when they are not absolutely wanted, which are sacrificed in the market at low prices to the injury of the fair dealer, and to the great oppression of the weavers" who could often earn only 9s. a week.⁽¹²⁾

In 1808 another petition asking for a minimum wage was sent and stated that the average wage was now reduced to 6s. a week. The Bolton masters, headed by Richard Ainsworth who had a factory in Burnley, supported the request of the weavers. Rioting broke out when Parliament refused to discuss the petition. Those weavers who would not join in the movement were robbed of their shuttles; at Rochdale, the prison was broken down, for which one man received a sentence of two years' imprisonment; shop-windows were broken in Blackburn;⁽¹³⁾ there were food riots in the Clitheroe district.⁽¹⁴⁾ The strike collapsed after a short time though the disorders continued. "The women, it was said, are, if possible, more turbulent and mischievous than the men. Their insolence to the soldiers and special constables is intolerable, and they seem to be confident of deriving impunity from their sex."

In 1810, the Blackburn weavers advocated a reduction in the quantity of goods when the market was overstocked and volunteered to work short time and "bear every privation for a few weeks or months" but they would not submit to the price list or rate of pay being reduced.⁽¹⁵⁾ The magistrates of Blackburn feared trouble and asked for regular troops to be sent to the town since the local militia was mostly composed of weavers. More petitions were sent to Parliament but all proved fruitless, and many weavers became insistent in their demands for manhood suffrage. The Government was asked to enforce the Statute of 1603 which authorised J.P.s to fix wages, but the answer to these requests was the repeal of the Act.

12. *Ibid.* p. 74.

13. *Ibid.* p. 81.

14. *Ibid.* p. 79.

15. *Ibid.* p. 82.

The year 1812 was marked by disturbances on a much larger scale. In these "Luddite Riots," as they are called, factories were burned down and machinery was smashed; "houses were plundered by persons in disguise, and a report was industriously circulated that a general rising would take place on 1st of May, or early in that month. Stockport, Manchester, West Houghton, Ashton, Eccles, Bolton and Middleton, all witnessed scenes of great violence. Fifty-eight people were tried; of these eight were hung, including a boy of 16 who was childish for his age and at the time of his execution "called on his mother for help . . . thinking she had the power to save him," 17 were transported for seven years, seven imprisoned for six months, 20 were acquitted, and the remaining six were to receive verdict and sentence at the next Assizes.

RIOTS IN BURNLEY.

The earliest recorded disturbances in Burnley occurred in 1818, but, before describing them, an examination of the comments made by a handloom weaver on the conditions of 1820-1826 will prove advantageous. These comments are contained in a diary written by William Varley, a handloom weaver, living at Back of the Hill, Higham, and show an almost unparalleled hatred and bitterness of the existing state of affairs. The diary is printed in full in an appendix to this book.

The Varley family consisted of four,—the father, the mother, named Margaret or Peggy, and two children, Elizabeth and Wilson. Both the parents were handloom weavers and worked for John Moore, William Hargreaves, Mr. Holt and Mr. Corlass, all of Burnley, who went weekly to Higham to give out weft and collect the woven "cuts." The cotton weaving was done with 64 or 74 picks to an inch. The parents were also able to carry out in their cottage a small amount of dyeing and wool-combing.

The diary shows that in 1820 wages were paid at the rate of 2s. a cut so that the income of husband and wife amounted to 15s. or 16s. a week. That amount was described as "half rate" by comparison with wages in previous years and merited, in the handloom weaver's opinion, opprobrious epithets of "the inhuman and relentless masters of Burnley," "base fiends," "omnivorous men" and "satanic masters," being applied to his employers. The writer complained that Burnley masters preferred to spend their money on the maintenance of soldiers in the Barracks rather than to raise wages and so prevent their "poor vassals" dying at the looms. An

"Account Book" of household expenses shows that in 1820 the Varley family lived on oatmeal, skimmed milk, flour-bread, and butter; treacle (for sweetening purposes) and small quantities of tea and coffee were also bought.

Wages in 1820, bad as they were, did not cause starvation, and conditions so much improved during 1821 and 1822 that the average price per cut rose from 2s. 6d. to 3s. Disaster came after 1822 and piece rates were reduced to 9d. — 1s. per cut in 1826; even at 1s. 6d. a cut, the "poor weaver could not afford to buy bread" and at 1s. a cut, there was actual starvation. In the early part of 1826, the diarist himself became unemployed for he writes "This day I got none at all nor none have I at home (to complete)," and his income ceased. A few weeks later, he managed to get some work and "now I hope through the mercy of God that I shall be able to maintain life a little longer." His new work did not last long and soon he was accepting the two lbs. of meal that was granted by the Government to each member of an unemployed family; a little later, the Government made a grant of 3d. a week to every person in an unemployed family in lieu of the dole meal. It is interesting to contrast this standard of life in 1826 with that of 1820 when both parents were fully employed, though at only "half-rate," and could afford to purchase weekly 27lbs. of meal, 9 lbs. of flour, 2 lbs. of butter, and 20 quarts of skimmed milk.

The Varley family suffered a very personal loss in January 1823 when the little girl, Elizabeth, died. Consumption had threatened her for some time but the new milk, the 4d.-worth of ling-liver oil on March 12th and a like quantity a fortnight later, and a mustard-plaster did not cure the disease. It is pathetic to note in the account book "Feb. 11th, 1822, Elizabeth's straw bonnet, 1s. 1d."; after that entry, her name does not again appear, though her brother's name is often recorded when his clogs were mended. The diarist's simple entry on January 8th, 1823, "Elizabeth Varley departed this life" shows grief and unwonted restraint under the circumstances which caused his child's death.

William Varley was often more concerned about the sufferings of his neighbours than with his own meagre rations. Thus, in 1826, he wrote, "There are a great many people who are poorly about this time, and well they may be, what with the hard work and mean food; but there are many without work, what must become of them? They must lie down and die for anything that I know; for if they would beg, I know of none that will give anything; and if they would rob or plunder, they have the soldiers of Burnley ready to give them their last

supper:" and, again, in February 1827, "The whole of this month sickness and disorders of different kinds prevail very much; the pox and measles take off the children by two or three a house: and well may they die, for there is no succour to be had for them; for the times are no better for the poor. Hunger and cold are our true companions."

Disappointment seemed to be an integral part of the life of a handloom weaver. It is not difficult to picture the particular scene at Higham which was recorded in the diary, "May 27, 1826. This day Mr. Hargreaves never comes to Higham to his warehouse. The poor weavers waited about for a great part of the day and some carried their goods to Burnley (to his warehouse there);" nor is it difficult to imagine the tempers, disappointment, dismay, and hatred, that would be shown and freely expressed on that occasion. Similarly, it is easy to imagine the diarist's disappointment on the very many occasions when he had to record that a master "lowers the wages 3d. a cut" and the rising hopes on far fewer occasions when wages rose by 3d. a cut. These constantly changing piece-rates, dictated by the masters, must have made a family budget something of a gamble, especially when one remembers that a reduction of 3d. a cut meant a loss of 2s. from a total family wage of 16s.

The diarist seems to have held aloof from the disturbances in the district, many of which he mentions, but there is no doubt where his sympathies lay. He does not offer any solution for the economic difficulties of the period, but he knew that he and his family and all other handloom weavers were semi-starved and unemployed; he knew, too, that disease and death came as a result of hunger and cold to children and adults alike. He hated the masters and gave his opinion of them in no uncertain terms; he blamed them for paying low wages and considered that any "advance" they made was owing to their desire for more work from their weavers, from which the masters alone benefited.

Doubtless, William Varley and all his fellow-handloom weavers had grounds for their grievances against some of the masters, but, though the diarist frankly admits that there was a trade depression of very great magnitude, he seems reluctant to admit that no master could afford to pay high wages for weaving cloth which could not sell. Nor does the diarist state that many masters went bankrupt in their efforts to carry on in the depression. (The failure of Massey, Holgate, Moore, and others, in 1824 was not entirely due to bad trade). The haphazard and competitive system under which cotton goods were manufactured was a Lancashire problem and not a purely

Burnley one. Varley saw the position only from a local standpoint and believed that the master who paid out the wages was solely to blame.

William Varley's diary makes dismal and pathetic reading, but if a Burnley handloom weaver had written of life in Burnley, that book would have shown, in all probability, much more suffering. Varley certainly had advantages, which neither the Burnley handloom weaver nor the factory operative possessed. The Higham weaver lived in a country cottage with very low rent and less rates; he had a garden in which he had "berry" trees, cabbage and onion plants, and potatoes, and, more valuable still, he kept a pig and poultry. Wages and work were alike in Higham and in Burnley, but in periods of unemployment and short-work, the country weaver was not compelled to waste his time in unprofitable idleness.

1818. The refusal of Parliament to meet the requests of textile workers for legislation to fix minimum rates of wages, the bad social conditions under which they lived and worked, unemployment and reductions in pay accompanied by a rise in the cost of living, increased the bitterness of the poor. At Stockport and Manchester, spinners went on strike and weavers throughout Lancashire followed their example. A hand-bill, issued at Oldham, showed that a weaver's wage in 1802 averaged 15s. 9d. a week, but in 1818 only 4s. 6d. to 5s. A Bolton document gives an estimate corroborated by two magistrates of the total earnings of a weaver's family. The family consists of father, mother, and six children, three of whom are old enough to weave. The four looms are handlooms belonging to the father. The father makes 9s., the eldest child 7s. 6d., the next child 6s., the youngest weaver 4s. 6d., making a total income of £1 7s. 6d. Added to this "the mother must be fully employed in winding, washing, etc. Indeed her (textile) employment is toil incessant." Deductions from the income were for rent 3s. 9d., fire 1s. 6d., candles 1s. 8d., soap and looming 1s. 6d., sizeing and sowing 2s., gaiting, wear and tear 1s., in all amounting to 11s. 5d. The family of eight had therefore 15s. 7d. a week for food, clothing, etc.

Delegates from all the chief weaving centres of Lancashire, including Burnley and Padiham, met at Bury on July 27th, 1818 to draw up some common plan of action.⁽¹⁶⁾ They determined to ask for a 35% increase on current rates and agreed to withhold their labour from any master who

16. Hammond—The Skilled Labourer p. 111.

would not accept their demands. Some masters accepted, others made alternative offers, many would not discuss the scheme.

The public generally sympathised with the agitation and meetings were held to enlist further support. On September 11th a meeting was arranged to be held at Blackburn and large numbers from this district were present. To ensure a full attendance of as many weavers as possible, the leaders unfortunately adopted a policy of intimidation to compel unwilling weavers to join in their march to Blackburn. At Overtown, for example, Wilkinson Simpson with a body of 50 to 60 people entered the house of Lawrence Lancaster, found him and his son weaving at their looms upstairs, and stopped the work by the simple expedient of taking away their shuttles. The shuttles were left downstairs when Lancaster agreed to march with them to the meeting. They passed through Burnley and joined the Burnley strikers. At Blackburn, there was "a mob of several hundreds" and a paper was read stating that a Haslingden master had agreed to give 7s. 6d. in the £ increase, i.e. 6d. more than the weavers demanded. When Lancaster left the meeting, the crowd had not dispersed. Some days later, Simpson was arrested and sentenced to a short term of imprisonment for his share in the affair.⁽¹⁷⁾

The Burnley strike began on or about September 10th,⁽¹⁸⁾ for the handloom weavers were very dissatisfied with the offers made by the masters. Early in the strike, a large mob assembled in the streets of Burnley and as there were some small disturbances and the likelihood of greater violence later on, the magistrates asked for troops to be sent from Manchester. When they arrived, the crowds were dispersed. On September 15th, the Burnley leaders of the strike engaged the town bellman, a man named Brown, who was "the active agent of the combination" (trade union) to give public notice of a meeting of strikers and all others interested. Crowds once more assembled and the bellman was arrested by the military and handed over to William Chaffer, the Burnley constable, who imprisoned him in the dungeon in Fleet Street. At 2 p.m. on the same day, Chaffer went to take dinner to his prisoner but found himself surrounded by a "very riotous" crowd of 300 to 400 men and women, who were led by Sarah Brown and three men, named Beesley, Collinge and Broughton. The women were the first to begin the fight; then Broughton seized the constable's coat and kicked him, and Beesley helped by hanging on to the constable's legs. After ten minutes of the

fray, three special constables, Carter, Birtwistle, and Smith rescued their chief and took him into the Bull Inn. Alice Dugdale, Betty Stuttard, Edmund Bamford,⁽¹⁹⁾ and James Cunliffe⁽²⁰⁾ threw stones, and one of them "threw a stone 2 lbs. in weight from a distance of two yards" while the mob shouted for the death of Chaffer. About 8 p.m. the strikers reassembled, broke open the prison and released the prisoners, and then quietly dispersed. It is uncertain why the military did not take action; perhaps they had left the town after dispersing the mobs in the early afternoon and considered that the town would be quiet for the remainder of the day. When the troops did arrive to deal with later troubles, they once more arrested the bellman and several of the ringleaders who were taken to the gaol in Blackburn. Sarah Brown had "absconded" but she was later arrested and sent with the others to take her trial.

The only outbreak of violence in Lancashire during the whole strike was the one in Burnley; in all other places, the weavers behaved throughout the trouble in an orderly and, as they thought, a law-abiding manner. The strike collapsed and three leaders of the Bury meeting were sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from one to two years. It was the last attempt of the weavers for many years to organise united action.

Meanwhile, the strike of the Manchester spinners which had begun about July 18th had collapsed at the end of August. This strike is interesting because it concerned factory workers, whereas the weavers' strike was carried on by domestic workers. Master spinners pointed out that their operatives had had constant and uniform employment for the last 28 years and that a spinner's average weekly wage was 31s., clear of deductions, advantages which were not enjoyed by handloom weavers. The spinners replied that the average weekly wage in 1816 was 24s. and that they had since suffered a reduction of 20 to 25 per cent; this reduction they had accepted on a promise from the masters that the old rates of pay would be restored when the state of the market warranted, a promise which should have been kept in 1818. "Some masters declared they could not give it; others they would not: but the greatest part, that they would, if others did, but they should not like to be the first." The strike was carried on in an orderly fashion, and it began to spread, but, by early August, funds for the maintenance of the strike were so low that the end was almost in sight. A proposal to form a General Union of Trades was not carried

19. A woolcomber of Shorey.

20. Lived near the present Yorkshire Hotel.

forward and, as workers, driven by hunger, began to drift back to the factories, disappointed strikers began to riot. Arrests followed and the strike collapsed after a struggle of eight weeks.

During the strike, delegates had visited towns to ask for help. It is significant that two Burnley men, named Robertshaw and Baldwin, were sent to Lancaster gaol to await trial "for a combination (union) among cotton spinners of Burnley." Overseers appointed James Massey, John Spencer, and John Roberts, all manufacturers, to attend the Court of Quarter Sessions at Preston, because the accused, if sentenced to imprisonment, were expected to apply for relief for their families.⁽²¹⁾

1819. The conduct of the Burnley weavers during their strike had so alarmed the local authorities that they pressed on with the building of the new prison. The old lock-up, which stood behind the old factory at the bottom of Fleet Street beyond Howe Street, was little more than a cellar and had been condemned as a prison by the parish officials in May 1817. The damage it sustained in the disturbances of 1818 rendered a new one more necessary than ever. The new building which stood at the corner of Red Lion Street and Manchester Road, had two storeys; male prisoners were put in the ground floor, female prisoners in the upper floor. The new prison was opened on January 8th, 1819. Iron rings, to which the prisoners were fastened, were found in the walls of the building when it was demolished to make a site for the Savoy.

More important was the decision to station troops in Burnley. Temporary barracks were built at Lane Bridge and the troops drilled, so it is said, in the neighbourhood of Croft Street. William Varley's diary estimates the number of troops at 200 cavalry and infantry. Later, the Barracks were erected at a cost of £5,500, of which sum the inhabitants of Burnley and district subscribed £2,500. The troops were used over a wide area, and at one time were sent to Skipton to quell a disturbance there.

Both spinners and weavers were very dissatisfied and discontented after 1818 and they held meetings in all the chief towns of Lancashire. At Burnley a placard appeared which read "Burnley August 2nd, 1819. All Friends of True National Interest are requested to be present at a Public Meeting,—5 o'clock." Mr. Chaffer, the constable, found out that the meeting was to be held at Gannow Lane End and told

his two special constables, Samuel Riding, shoemaker, and Halstead Halstead, to attend and report on what was said and done. From Riding's information of what had been said, John Adamson, the one and only speaker, was arrested. He affirmed that he was a reformer, that he was out of work and had therefore come to Burnley to stay with his friend named Fletcher, and that, at the Gannow meeting, he merely read out some speeches already published in the "Manchester Observer." Halstead's evidence was that he heard nothing distinctly because of the noise, though he was only ten yards away; after the meeting, he saw Adamson leading the people back to Burnley as far as the Canal Bridge. Chaffer gave evidence that when he searched the prisoner he found on him "An Address to the Weavers" and a copy of his speech. This speech was characteristic of the times; a bitter and passionate outburst against the salaries of King, Prince, and Bishops; a condemnation of the Combination Laws and Corn Laws, "The poor shall have a large loaf for little money, plenty of victuals and drink;" a demand for the vote,—"No man ought to be taxed without consent;" advice to all workers "to form a bond of union," "to form into small classes, choose leaders that are skilled in the exercise, join two or more classes together when trained, join four classes of 25 into a division;" veiled hints to the local authorities, "We shall not be daunted by menaces," "The feather-bed soldiers are ordered to hold themselves in readiness and sharpen their swords and a Declaration is now handing about for signatures to protect the constitution and property." The "Declaration," to which Adamson referred, had been decided upon at a General Meeting convened by the Burnley Magistrates on July 31st.

The Reverend Dr. Whitaker presided at this meeting which was attended by the magistrates and principal inhabitants of the Higher Division of the Hundred of Blackburn. The object of the meeting was to decide what concerted actions could be taken to meet the threats of disturbance in the district. The speakers regretted "the commercial differences and embarrassments" that had arisen between masters and men, but urged the audience "to abhor Revolutionary principles, the attacks on the Prince Regent, the preparation of pikes, and the General Union to overthrow the Constitution of the country." The meeting resolved that "all Hundreds ought to support the magistrates of Manchester, Salford, etc. in their fight against violence" and that "All good and loyal subjects should co-operate to maintain peace and good order" and proceeded to form a committee of action to put their resolutions into effect. The committee consisted of all the

local magistrates and leading inhabitants, including Peregrine E. Towneley, Webster Fishwick, Joseph Massey, sen., Theodore Heelis of Brown Hill, and William Shaw.

The magistrates of the Blackburn Hundred considered that the Burnley meeting of Reformers on August 2nd was most important. Their clerk, William Shaw of Burnley, therefore wrote on August 9th to Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary, informing him that 400-500 workers had attended the meeting, that the speaker and chairman, John Adamson, had made an inflammatory speech likely to lead to sedition, that the "Manchester Observer" had published undesirable material, and suggesting that the Government should bring a charge of sedition against the newspaper and Adamson; Mr. Shaw added "His arrest seems to have put an end to the Conspiracy." The Home Secretary replied on the 17th to the effect that he could not form a judgment about sedition until he had seen extracts from the "Manchester Observer." On August 23rd, Mr. Shaw again wrote to Lord Sidmouth that "An indictment might be passed to meet the offence of holding an illegal meeting and having on him seditious papers."⁽²²⁾

Nothing further was done because events occurred which were far more serious than violent speeches.

As petitions to Parliament and likewise strikes had failed to secure higher wages for spinners and weavers, they turned their thoughts to "Parliamentary Reform" and demanded manhood suffrage. A mass meeting was arranged to be held in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, on August 16th 1819. A huge concourse of people, drawn from all parts of Lancashire, assembled. On orders from the magistrates, the yeomanry charged and scattered the crowd; 11 people were killed and between 500 and 600 more of both sexes were seriously injured. The Ministry approved of the tragic blunder even before they made the official enquiry, but the nation, as a whole, was horrified.

A similar catastrophe might have occurred in Burnley a few weeks later but for the restraint of a local Justice of the Peace. A meeting of reformers at Burnley was announced for November 8th but it was postponed until the 15th. Just before noon on that day, large bodies of men and women, with flags flying and bands playing, began to assemble. One party came down Manchester Road, five or six abreast; a second party met in Lane Bridge, marched into Manchester Road and joined the first; a third was composed of 700-800 men and

women from Clayton and Padiham; Pendle villages and Colne sent their marching contingents. The flags had various devices and mottoes:— "Liberty or Death," "Annual Parliaments," "Vote by Ballot," "Manhood Suffrage," "Henry Hunt," "The Bill of Rights," "The more the tyrants grind us, the more united they shall find us," "Keep within Compass," "Order, Order," "A false balance is an abomination of the Lord, but a just weight is His delight." One Padiham flag displayed a picture of a blood-covered woman carrying in her arms a headless baby, with the caption "We Britons think abhorrence at the Manchester Massacre." There were also "Caps of Liberty" worn by some marchers. A conservative estimate of the number at the meeting, which was again held at Gannow Lane End, was 4,000, but a fairly reliable witness put it as high as 10,000.

What transpired at the meeting has to be based on the evidence given at the trial of nine men who were charged on 21 counts, including holding and convening an illegal meeting, obstructing the magistrates and police officers, seditious language, carrying pistols, swords, pikes and staves; two Burnley blacksmiths were also charged with making pikes. The accused were John Knight, John Adamson, William Fletcher, John Bury, Nathan Broadhurst, George Dewhurst, John Stevenson, John Astin, and James Wade; the blacksmiths were John Knowles and James Morris. Of the nine who were originally charged, John Astin proved that he was "no nearer the meeting than the Lane" and was dismissed from the case.

Most of the evidence was supplied by paid spies and informers (a common practice in the early 19th century), and not all of it is therefore reliable. Typical of these witnesses were William Wilson, a Burnley reedmaker, who admitted that he had been charged with a capital offence some ten years previously and that £43 was still due to him for attending meetings and "going about the country," and Richard Fletcher, who confessed that he had applied to different people to purchase pikes for the meeting and had boasted that he was "well-armed."

The trial lasted four days so that it is impossible to give in full all the evidence. Fletcher stated that a number of the marchers had carried staves and when they arrived at the meeting-place, they "picked out dirt from holes in the staves made to receive pike-heads" and had later "fixed in them the pike-heads" which they had carried "under the coat-sleeves and under their breasts." These facts he had reported to the magistrate at the Bull Inn. He had seen 60 pull out the pikes but only 8-10 men fix them, while 20 others, near the hustings or platform, had drawn pistols.

A Mrs. Hanson gave a vivid description of a pike which she had seen in a public house after the meeting. It was half a yard long, sharp on both edges "like a razor," with a screw four inches long to fasten it to the handle, and was carried in a leather sheath.

The meeting had to wait for half an hour before the arrival of John Knight, the principal speaker. During the interval of waiting, someone called "The soldiers are coming" and many fixed their pikes because "they wanted to defend themselves and feared another August 16th." (the date of the Manchester Massacre). When the alarm was over, pikes were once more concealed. On the arrival of Mr. Knight, a cap of liberty was put on his head, and he then dealt with the iniquity of the Corn Laws and Combination Acts, deplored the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, lamented that so many were hanged for forgery, and then read out "The Resolutions" of the meeting. At one point, Colonel Hargreaves, J.P., arrived; he "dashed among the crowd, and seized a staff which appeared to have been prepared as a pike-handle and brought it away without opposition," though one man was charged with pointing a pistol at him. For the second time, the cry of "Soldiers" was raised, pikes were pulled out and replaced when the alarm was seen to be false; during this episode, many ran away. After the resolutions had been put and carried by the meeting, George Dewhurst addressed the crowd. He recommended a subscription should be taken from workers to buy newspapers and then they would be able "to watch proceedings in Parliament." A Burnley surgeon, Samuel Howarth, gave evidence that the meeting was not dangerous, that the staves were "sticks such as might be picked up in the road" and that the only possibly dangerous talk concerned "a general rising throughout England if Parliament did not redress wrongs." This was probably a reference to one of the resolutions "that if Parliament should pass any gagging Acts, the Reformers should rise and meet on one day," "if they did not, he should call them the greatest cowards on earth."

At the conclusion of the meeting, some pistols were fired and the crowd dispersed, some to the taverns and drinking shops, others went home. John Bridge of Healey said "I saw them from a place called Treacle Row return by the old highway from the field of the hustings." Bridge must have seen part of the crowd returning to Rawtenstall and district along Coal Clough Lane and Cog Lane. The Padiham reformers were bitterly disappointed at the outcome of the meeting and complained that it had been badly arranged and that there

had been a lack of speakers. They boasted that their own disaffected town was "ready for anything and could have despatched all the soldiers in Burnley."

Views on the nature of the resolutions were conflicting. Counsel for the prosecution maintained that they encouraged revolution but Knight and Dewhurst both asserted that the resolutions merely condemned the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. (By suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, the Government made it possible for magistrates and police officers to commit men to prison indefinitely without a trial).

John Knight, the principal defendant, was a manufacturer and a leader of the Lancashire radicals. Since 1811, he had discountenanced violence and consistently advocated Parliamentary reform as the surest way to achieve the aims of the workers. He had been imprisoned under the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act but had been acquitted of Luddite activities. At the trial in 1820 for his share in the Burnley meeting, Knight pointed out that after his arrest, he had been dressed as a common felon, placed in solitary confinement, and prevented from writing to his friends; he denied calling the meeting or urging the people to rise, and knew nothing of the inscriptions on the flags.

George Dewhurst, a widower with four children, of which the eldest was under ten years of age, had had his business ruined and was in great poverty. He denied that he had summoned the meeting and said that his presence there was quite accidental; he had been induced to put the resolution to the meeting protesting against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act.

John Adamson, who had been arrested in connection with the Burnley meeting a few months earlier, denied that he had taken any part in calling the meeting and maintained that he did not speak although he was on the platform. His sole object, he said, was to carry out a request of "a Burnley gentleman, named Massey," to make arrangements for him to meet Mr. Knight. (Mr. Massey was not called to bear out the truth of this statement). The constable's depositions, made on Dec. 1st 1819, were put in as evidence against Adamson; the constable recalled the fact that Adamson had already been sent to Lancaster gaol for a speech in Burnley and asserted that he had heard him say in the house of John Riding (The New Sparrow Hawk) on November 22nd. "They ought to pay no taxes in peace time" and "a blow-up is expected."

John Bury said he was on the hustings because the ground was wet; he held on by a flag-staff but "he did not speak a word" and had not waved a flag.

Nathan Broadhurst said that he attended the meeting because he was invited but he denied any knowledge of pistols and pikes.

John Astin denied being on the hustings and maintained that he carried neither firearms nor pikes.

William Fletcher denied taking any part in calling the meeting or providing the flags.

James Wade was charged with threatening the life of Colonel Hargreaves by pointing a pistol at him. Wade was not living with his wife and the principal witness against him was "a distant relative of his wife." John Carter gave definite proof that Wade was not the man who had threatened the magistrate, and the prisoner was acquitted.

John Knight was sentenced to two years' imprisonment; the others received sentences ranging from three to six months.

In the trial of the two Burnley blacksmiths who were accused of making pikes, the prosecutor's witnesses stated that they had been sent by the magistrates to visit the smithies. Knowles offered to sell them two or three pikes but had only one ready but made arrangements to meet later in a public house where he sold them two more for 3s. each. As the witness was a few halfpence short, Knowles said "It would make no difference between reformers." The witness informed the constable of what had transpired and therefore on the next day Chaffer and a number of soldiers searched Knowles' smithy, found a pike-head concealed in a cupboard and a pamphlet called "Hunt and Liberty," and arrested the blacksmith. The prisoner admitted his guilt but pleaded that he had little work and made pikes only to order but with no evil intent. Knowles was sentenced to a short term of imprisonment. James Morris, the other blacksmith to be accused, seems to have been acquitted though the evidence against him was similar to that given against Knowles.⁽²³⁾

On one occasion in 1819, the Riot Act was read out by Dr. T. H. Whitaker, the historian. Such an action was not adopted at either of the meetings in the later part of the year, so that there must have been some other disturbance of which all record has been lost.⁽²⁴⁾

1820. This year was characterised by a strike of the colliers at Altham, Padiham and Hapton. In 1798, one of their best years, a miner could earn 16s. a week; if his family worked with him, he might increase his wage to 20s. or even 30s. a week. For that sum, he and his children had to spend long hours underground, in very great discomfort and subject to appalling risks. From 1798, onwards, the miner's wage fell steadily until he was among the worst paid of all artisans. It is highly probable that the crowd of 700-800 who marched from Clayton and Padiham to attend the Burnley meeting on November 15th 1819 was largely composed of colliers, for, as a class, they were ever ready to join in demonstrations which would focus attention on their conditions and grievances. In 1820, they assembled in large numbers at Padiham and threatened "to march riotously into Burnley." Their plans, however, had been under discussion for some time and had become known; many leading citizens of Burnley recommended that they should not be allowed to approach the town but should be dispersed by the military. "Dr. Whitaker, although an invalid, drove into Burnley on the day the colliers were expected and declared that he would not order the military out, until he tried, in person, to persuade the mob to return. Accordingly, he met them near Gannow, a mile out of town, in a post chaise. He was helped into the driver's seat, from whence he harangued them so successfully that they agreed to go home quietly."⁽²⁵⁾

1826. Conditions steadily deteriorated after 1820 until the climax seemed to be reached 1826-7. During those six years, masters of this area had themselves started a movement to fix a minimum wage but before they could arrive at any definite scheme, the patience of the workers was exhausted. Trade was bad and a weaver could hardly earn 6s. a week by working 16 hours a day. Moreover, the failure of Holgate's Bank in Burnley had completely ruined several large manufacturers and crippled many others, so that factories and "putting-out" shops had been closed and the workers discharged. Similar conditions prevailed in all Lancashire towns.

The distress in Burnley was most severe. A Wesleyan preacher, who happened to be in Burnley, saw a child satisfying its hunger by devouring the spent hops from a brew-house; the London "Times" reported that Burnley people were digging up the carcasses of diseased animals for food. The "Blackburn Mail" said "The distress in Burnley for want of employment prevails to a large extent and it is apprehended

that what little work is now issued to the weavers or furnished in the cotton mills, will be wholly withdrawn unless there is an improvement in trade. The poor rates are treble their former amount, notwithstanding the aid from London and the very generous subscriptions of the inhabitants, which is now distributed to the distressed every Friday. In some adjoining townships, the rates exceed the rentals, and farmers themselves are seeking relief."

Various methods to deal with the prevalent wretchedness were devised and adopted. Rates were increased far more than treble as the "Blackburn Mail" states; Reedley Hallows, Filly Close and New Laund Booth with a population of approximately 450 found their rates were raised to bring in a total sum of £707 instead of the usual £160.⁽²⁶⁾ Subscription lists were opened in London and realised £123,000 for the distressed areas of Lancashire; a local relief fund was organised to which Peregrine Towneley contributed £150; soup kitchens were started and clothing was distributed; a grant of 3 lbs. (later 2 lbs.) of oatmeal a week was made to each member of an unemployed family. Unemployed labourers were put on the roads and paid 1s. 6d. a week "for a reasonable quantity of work done" but those weavers who tried to become roadmakers soon stopped because their hands and fingers would not stand the work; Brownside Bridge was constructed and 80 acres of moorland were leased and the unemployed put to drainage and building work preparatory to making one or two farms.

Handloom weavers, some driven by hunger and mocking at charity and schemes of relief, others hating the system which had reduced them to such a condition, vented their wrath against the power-loom factories, though, as yet, the power-loom had not been introduced to any great extent and was not a cause of the wide-spread unemployment. Even as late as 1834, Bolton had only 733 power-weavers running 1466 looms as compared with 7-8,000 handloom weavers. For a week, the mobs had almost a free run. Fortunately, Burnley seems to have escaped the worst though it is said that on Monday, April 24th 1826, a crowd of weavers from Rossendale entered Burnley, broke all the power-looms they could find, threw stones at windows and did damage to the extent of £800; before leaving, they entered public houses where they were supplied with the free drinks they demanded. The records of the Assize Courts and Quarter Sessions however, do not contain any reference to the Burnley outbreaks, nor does Varley of Higham mention them in his diary. Very serious events did

26. Overseers' Accounts.

take place a few miles away. Large bodies of weavers, drawn from all the neighbouring districts, met on April 24th at Enfield at the cross-roads to Burnley, Blackburn, Whalley and Haslingden and thence marched to Blackburn; by nightfall, there was not a single power-loom left standing within six miles of Blackburn. Houghton's Mill at Darwen and Eccles' Mill at Blackburn were completely destroyed, and soldiers fired on the mob and two or three men were killed. On Tuesday, the 25th, mobs attacked the factories at Haslingden, cut warps to pieces, destroyed reeds and healds, broke the machinery, and often set fire to the buildings. On the Wednesday, bodies of weavers broke the power-loom at Rawtenstall (Whitehead's Mill), Coupe Lench (Kay's also of Burnley), New Church (Ormerod's), Bacup (Hargreaves and Hardman's), Helmshore (Turner's) Tottington (Rostron's), Holt Clough (Munn's), Oswaldtwistle (Bury's), Edenfield, Summerseat, and Chadderton, where five men and one woman were killed. On the Thursday and Friday, rioting spread to Manchester, where looting of shops added to the disorder. The leaders in all the Lancashire troubles were arrested and tried at the Assize Courts. Thirty-five men and seven women were sentenced to be hanged but the penalty was commuted to transportation for life in all cases.⁽²⁷⁾

Justices were thoroughly alarmed during the disorders as is shown by the following letter :

Tern Hill,

Sat. Evening, April 29th, 1826.

Dear Sir,

I have just returned from Burnley where I have had an interview with Mr. Shaw and feel sorry that Kay, the Blackburn Constable, cannot be spared from his town. I understand that you are gone to Haslingden to arrange with Mr. Turner respecting the main operations that are to be taken against the rioters. I am very anxious that prompt and decisive measures should be immediately taken, being convinced that it is important to crush the evil in the bud. Mr. Shaw and I have been consulting upon another plan in the event of your not being able to provide means to put in execution the plan determined on yesterday at your office. Our constables at Bacup are returned after having lodged safely the prisoners committed to their charge and if your Party are of the opinion that you cannot take up all the persons accused tomorrow night, I would undertake that the Bacup constables provided with a party of horse, which in case of need I will send to

Burnley for, shall take up the persons resident in the neighbourhood of New Church and Rawtenstall tomorrow evening (Sunday). You can submit the above plan to the consideration of your meeting this evening and let me know the result by return of bearer. The Bacup constables are this moment setting out with three more prisoners for the Burnley Barracks. In the event of your plan putting into the hands of the Bacup constables, the district of Rawtenstall and New Church,— have the goodness to state the general orders that either I or the constables acting by my authority will be justified in giving to the military.

I remain, dear Sir,
Yours Truly, J.W.⁽²⁸⁾

1839. After 1826, handloom weavers had to accept any terms they could get and in 1831-2 were trying to exist on 3d. a day per head. Whig proposals in 1830 for a reform of Parliament, which workers had urged for so many years, raised their hopes of better times, but they were bitterly disappointed when the much-heralded Reform Act of 1832 left them without a vote. In Burnley and Habergham Eaves before 1832, there were nine voters; as a result of the Reform Act, there were 139 voters out of approximately 2,000 households. Radical reformers therefore continued to agitate for an extension of the franchise and their propaganda found willing listeners and supporters among the starving artisans of Burnley and district.

In 1836, the London Working Men's Association was formed to unite all working classes and "place all classes of society in possession of equal political and social rights." They drew up a petition to Parliament, which in 1837 was approved by the Birmingham Political Union; from that time the "People's Charter" was a household word in every village and town. "Six points" were emphasized as the people's rights: 1. Equal representation. 2. A vote for an adult man (or woman). 3. Annual Parliaments. 4. No property qualifications for Parliamentary candidates. 5. Vote by ballot. 6. Payment for Members of Parliament. (No. 3 is the only "point" not yet realised).

Lancashire workers were keen supporters of the movement and village and town Chartist clubs were soon in process of formation. A petition was sent to Parliament in 1839, a debate ensued, and nothing further was done. This attitude of the Government widened differences that had

already appeared in the ranks of the Chartists; some formed the party of "Moral Force" believing that speeches, resolutions, etc. would eventually convince both Parliament and upper classes of the justice of their demands, while others formed the party of "Physical Force," which, led by Feargus O' Connor, maintained that more violent methods must be adopted. Hunger, starvation and unemployment helped O' Connor. "The Charter," he said "is a knife and fork question," "it stands for a good dinner, a good coat, high wages and more comfort." In May, 1839, workers were asked to withdraw savings from Banks; convert paper money into gold and silver; boycott non-Chartist tradesmen; defend liberty by arms; and abstain from work and intoxicating liquors for a month in the event of their being ordered by the Convention⁽²⁹⁾ (the Chartist committee). The publication of this manifesto was followed by riots in Birmingham, Newport and other places. Feargus O'Connor himself came to Burnley and addressed a meeting near the Bull and Butcher. The local Chartist Associations held a joint meeting at Burnley to decide on common action for a "holiday." This term was coined by William Benbow, shoemaker and coffee-house proprietor, whose pamphlet "The Grand National Holiday," enunciated the doctrine of a general strike. The Burnley meeting formulated no plan for a general strike and put the blame on a section of the Colne workers who refused to strike; "The principal obstacle in the way of a holiday arises from those operatives and trades who are receiving remunerating wages for their labour and whose apathy and indifference arise more from ignorance of their real position than an indifference to benefit their fellow men." Meanwhile, the local Chartist associations were preparing for a struggle and Padiham prided itself on its banner inscribed "Sell thy garment and buy a sword."

Colne, although unwilling to join the strike, had Chartists who were ready to fight. General Napier, commander of the Northern District, wrote in his diary⁽³⁰⁾ only six months after the Burnley meeting:—

"April 27th (1840). On the 25th, the Chartists at Colne thrashed the new police, and troops, horse and foot were obliged to march from Burnley to their assistance."

"29th. The Colne affair so far over that the troops have marched back, but the people told them they would not have the police."

29. Fay—*Life and Labour in the 19th Century* p. 160.

30. Carr—*Annals of Colne* pp. 92-3.

“August 11th. Again a row at Colne: they threaten to destroy the police. I have asked Lord Normanby's leave to go there to smooth matters.”

“12th. Lord Normanby wishes me to go. The Colne chaps have killed a constable and thrashed the police: several are wounded: the police have resolved to resign unless they get arms.”

“14th. Colne. There is perfect cordiality with the soldiers: the riot has not been political. The police must be armed; if they are to be protected by the soldiers, they are of no use.”

The special policeman, John Halstead, a manufacturer, was killed under particularly brutal circumstances by a mob which was armed with sharpened iron rails. A youth of 18 was transported for life for his share in the murder.

1842. Chartism, that promised to the poor the removal of all their grievances, thrived among the distressed workers of Burnley. Some sections of the middle class also favoured the cause and many others secretly sympathised but were alarmed at the excesses that the Chartists committed, such as had been recently witnessed in Colne. How great was the distress may be seen from the evidence of Richard Pilling, whose family in 1840 had earned 31s. 3d. a week but in 1842 could earn only 16s. and even that wage for the whole work of the family was threatened with a reduction of 25 per cent; his family lived on potatoes and salt. In 1841, there were 6,500 people receiving relief from Guardians of the Burnley Union, but in May 1842 that number had increased to 16,000.⁽³¹⁾ Dr. Cooke Taylor thus describes his visit to Burnley in 1842:⁽³²⁾ “Groups of idlers stood in the midst of the street; their faces haggard with famine and their eyes rolling with that fierce and uneasy expression which I have noticed in maniacs. I went up to some of them, and entered into conversation. They were perfectly candid and communicative; for the men of this part of Lancashire retain much of the sturdy independence of the ancient foresters: they will go miles to do you a service, but they will not stir one inch to do homage to wealth or station. Each man had his own tale of sorrow to tell; their stories were complicated details of misery and suffering. “We want not charity, but employment,” was their unanimous declaration; and proofs of their truth were abundant in the anecdotes told and verified of men having travelled miles to obtain a job, however heavy the labour, and however wretched the remuneration.

31. Overseers' Accounts.

32. Cooke Taylor—*Tour in Manufacturing Districts of Lancs.* pp. 64ff.

"I found them all Chartists, but with this difference — that the block-printers and handloom-weavers united to their Chartism a hatred of machinery, which was far from being shared by the factory operatives. The latter also deprecated anything like an appeal to physical force, while the former strenuously urged an immediate appeal to arms. There was no concealment of sentiment on either side. I heard more than twenty openly advocate the expediency of burning down the mills, in order to compel the factory hands to join in an insurrectionary movement. A mill had been burned down at Colne two nights previously; doubts were entertained whether this had been the result of design or accident, and in the streets of Burnley there were groups expressing their hopes that it would be traced to design and followed by imitation, while the heaviest curses were bestowed on the factory hands of Colne for having exerted themselves to check the conflagration, and to supply water to the engines."

"One Burnley gentleman dwelt very strongly on the moral results of the crisis, which he described as far more alarming than its physical consequences; marriages had nearly ceased, while young persons from having no work, were thrown together in dangerous circumstances, their passions stimulated by anger and their powers of restraint destroyed by desperation. Revenge "the wild justice of the hopeless," was preached by itinerant incendiaries; but while "the shadow of a chance" remained he did not believe that the people would have recourse to violence. "If, however," he continued, "they once get it into their heads that no remedy is to be expected, there will be no safety in Burnley for any man with a decent coat to his back." From the conversations which I subsequently had with several of the unemployed operatives in this district, I am firmly convinced that my informant did not exaggerate. The people in this part of Lancashire are a rough, obstinate and self-willed race, just the class of men that would be described in cant phrase as "ugly customers." They have given some very unpleasant proofs of their determination to have their own way in their opposition to the introduction of the police: they have more than once formed plans for provoking a contest with that force, and it was only by the exercise of the most extraordinary forbearance on the part of the police that fatal consequences were averted."

At Colne, Dr. Taylor visited 83 dwellings,⁽³³⁾ selected at hazard. They were destitute of furniture, save old boxes for tables, and stools, or even large stones, for chairs; the beds were composed of straw and shavings, sometimes with torn

pieces of carpet or packing canvass for a covering, and sometimes without any kind of covering whatever. The food was oatmeal and water for breakfast; flour and water, with a little skimmed milk, for dinner; oatmeal and water again for a third supply, with those who went through the form of eating three meals a-day. In 15 families, their children went without the blue milk on alternative days. The children appeased their hunger with the refuse of decayed vegetables in the root-market. "All the places I visited were scrupulously clean. The children were in rags but they were not in filth. In no single instance was I asked for relief. I never before saw such poverty which inspired respect, and misery which demanded involuntary homage." Out of Colne's population of 53,000, there were no less than 13,000 in receipt of poor relief, and the poor-rates had risen from 3s. to 10s. in the pound; the scale of relief, however, was so inadequate that the relieving officer in one district was obliged to be protected by a military guard.

At Accrington,⁽³⁴⁾ a town of 9,000 inhabitants, not more than 100 were fully employed. "Many kept themselves alive by collecting nettles and boiling them. Some were entirely without food every alternate day, and many had but one meal in the day, and that a poor one."

It seemed almost inevitable that under such conditions labour troubles would again ensue. The earliest record of Chartism in Burnley in this second phase of its existence deals with a meeting on June 12th, 1842, when a crowd of 2,000-2,500 men, women and boys of the working class assembled "on the Sabden side of Pendle Hill."⁽³⁵⁾ Hustings, made of earth and stones, were hurriedly thrown up and William Beesley, ⁽³⁶⁾ a chair-maker of Accrington, addressed the people. Police spies were present and he was alleged to have said that he believed in physical force and going about armed and that he would suffer death for the Chartists.

A day or two later, O'Connor paid his second visit to Burnley. On this occasion he was welcomed at the Culvert by a crowd which took out the horses and dragged his carriage in triumphal procession through the streets. Two meetings were arranged, one to be held in a tent, and the other in the open air. The meeting in the tent was announced by placards and was "arranged for shopkeepers and middle classes of Burnley," who adopted a resolution in support of the Charter after they had heard O'Connor's speech. The number of people attending the second meeting was estimated at 15,000-20,000 and it was said that they came from all the towns and villages

34. Fay—*Life and Labour* p. 178.
35. P.R.O. P.L. 27-11 Part I.

36. Connected with Burnley Riots of
Sept. 15th, 1818.

"in the vicinity," including Bacup and Colne. The military and police were near at hand to suppress any outbreaks of lawlessness, but their services were not required. Disorders were all the more likely because just before O'Connor's visit, the factories had begun to work short time, some weavers and spinners were on strike, excitement was kept at a high pitch by many strikers' meetings, and, to add to the trouble, mills had been damaged and one factory had been burnt down to the ground; placards offered rewards for the name of the incendiaries. In 1843, when O'Connor and the local Chartist leaders were tried at Lancaster for inciting the people to riot, Henry Holland, a block-cutter of Burnley and a Temperance Coffee House keeper, stated he had urged O'Connor to come to Burnley "to allay angry feelings."⁽³⁷⁾

O'Connor also addressed meetings at Colne Cloth Hall and at Accrington. All passed off quietly except for a very few isolated incidents of little importance. It is said that after O'Connor's visit to Burnley, the unemployed went out to Pendle Hill and staked their claims to the land. Meanwhile, Beesley kept the spirit of the local Chartists in a constant state of excitement by addressing meetings in many places, including Pendle Hill, Widdop and Keb Cote; these were attended by his followers from Burnley, Padiham and Colne.

In August 1842, textile workers went on strike and the Chartist leaders were involved in events which they had only indirectly inspired; the course of the strike soon passed beyond their control. On August 5th, the factory hands at Ashton struck work and their example was followed throughout Lancashire and Yorkshire; soon it spread to the Potteries and the coal fields. Meetings were held and resolutions made that all work should cease until the Charter became the law of the land. In Lancashire, the disorders are known by the name of "The Plug Riots," because the rioters raked out the fires from beneath boilers and knocked out the boiler plugs: there was also a considerable amount of damage done to machinery.

On August 12th, rioting broke out at Bacup, and on the following day, the workers of Burnley turned out. On the 14th, a crowd from Bacup came into Burnley via the Culvert and soon every steam-powered factory was immobilised by the "plug drawers." John Law's mill in Malt Kiln Street (Hill Top) was apparently left by the strikers but the owner sent for their leaders to draw the plugs, perhaps fearing that worse might befall at a later period. There was a considerable

37. O'Connor—N. Lincs. Spring Assizes
pp. 175-6; 312.

amount of drinking as the day wore on. In the afternoon, Burnley strikers met at the Tim Bobbin and there decided to march on Blackburn. They set out on the 15th but before reaching their objective, the march was broken up by the police. They then attempted "to stop the Habergham Eaves coal-pit" but two magistrates called out the military, the Riot Act was read, and the mob was dispersed.

On the 16th, a "foraging expedition" of 3,000 men, women and children set out from Burnley and Colne to Skipton to demand food, draw plugs and enlist support. They were armed with heavy clubs and marched four abreast. Arriving at Skipton, they were requested to retire and when they refused, troops from Burnley were summoned. Before these could arrive, the rioters stopped mills, levied fines on mill-owners, looted shops and houses and, without opposition, carried away the provisions. The magistrates read the Riot Act and the mob withdrew to a field outside the town. On the arrival of the military, the mob was charged and dispersed but not without one soldier being severely injured during a bout of stone throwing. Six men were arrested.⁽³⁸⁾

The Chartist leaders now seem to have tried to take control of the strike and on August 17th and 18th, placards, headed "Executive Placard," appeared on the walls of buildings and on lampposts, announcing the arrangements for meetings and processions. On the 18th, McCabe, the Burnley constable tore down a placard while it was being read by a group of men; an ugly situation arose when a crowd quickly collected round the policeman. Fortunately, the police officer had reinforcements near at hand and the position once more became normal.

The disturbance of August 18th was the last episode in the struggle. On September 3rd, Beesley was arrested and, with O'Connor and 58 others, was tried at Lancaster in 1843 on charges arising out of the Lancashire strike. Beesley was found guilty of attempting to persuade people to strike and bring about a change in the laws and constitution. O'Connor conducted the case for himself and the other defendants and cross-examined McCabe about his second visit to Burnley. The police officer had to admit that the meeting in the tent had been regularly announced by placard and that the shop-keepers of Burnley had adopted the People's Charter at the meeting; the procession, which had welcomed the Chartist leaders into Burnley, was, in McCabe's opinion "a contemptible affair and small in numbers" so that he did not anticipate any disturbance. Henry Holland and William Beesley gave evidence

that they had invited O'Connor to Burnley "to allay excitement" and pointed out that the damage to the mills had been committed before O'Connor's visit to Burnley, which had nothing in common with the strike. In a cross-examination by the Attorney General, O'Connor had to admit that people from Bacup, Colne, and many other places in the vicinity had come to Burnley to hear his speech and that the object of his visit was not entirely "to allay angry feelings in Burnley." Nearly all the accused were found guilty on several charges and sent to prison to serve short sentences.

In 1843, the town enrolled 52 special constables to assist the six regular police; among the names are to be found five cotton manufacturers, eight grocers (of whom four became cotton manufacturers), 21 other tradesmen, four farmers, two umbrella makers, a gentleman (John Folds), and eight cotton operatives. Prominent among the names is that of Henry Holland, block-cutter and Temperance Coffee House keeper, and erstwhile Chartist.

The later history of the very important Chartist movement may be briefly summarised. In 1843, O'Connor took up the cry of "The Land for the People," and after collecting £50,000 in small subscriptions from the Chartists bought 100 acres which were divided into small allotments and cultivated by selected members of the National Charter Association; the profits from the initial venture were to be used to buy a second estate and so on until all the land was in the ownership of the people. By 1847, the scheme collapsed. In 1848, a National Petition was drawn up and was to be accompanied to the House of Commons by a "Monster Procession" of Chartists. One hundred thousand members of the movement met in London to present the 5 cwt. 84 lbs. petition containing six million signatures to Parliament. Bad weather disheartened the marchers and 7,000 special constables in the streets of the capital overawed them. O'Connor himself left the procession and only a few actually reached the House of Commons. That proved to be the end of the Chartist Association though the principles for which it had so unsuccessfully fought still remained active in people's minds.

The Chartist movement failed for many reasons but principally because the tide of events was against it. The Chartists had fought for their six points to give better conditions of life to the workers. After 1843, conditions of life gradually improved and wages steadily rose, so that there seemed no reason why the workers should carry on the struggle to attain an end which had already been reached as a result of better trade.

SUMMARY.

Labour disputes in the second half of the 18th century generally took place in times of famine and may therefore be better classified as "food riots." The disturbances of the first half of the 19th century occurred during periods of trade depression, which were accompanied by rising prices, falling wages, and widespread unemployment. To add to the trouble was the introduction of machinery which displaced labour by first ruining the cottage spinning industry and then, after 1830, threatening, and finally destroying, the domestic handloom weaving industry. Under such conditions, workers were reduced to a state of semi-starvation, for masters, competing with one another for a share in a dwindling market, paid low wages or discharged their workers and closed their factories and "putting out" shops.

Parliament's action in passing the repressive measures 1815-9 to check the growth of combinations, limit public criticism, and prevent outbreaks of lawlessness, added political grievances to the workers' social discontent. The Government's action was defended on the grounds that civil authority would have broken down, if aggrieved workers had been allowed to use force to back up their demands. Unfortunately, Parliament seemed to ignore every petition and suggestion, made by men and some masters, to arrive at a solution of the difficulties. Hence the workers adopted a political programme of "Parliamentary Reform," in the hopes of securing a "People's Parliament"—a programme which later formed the basis of the Chartist movement.

The Burnley riots, including those which were partially fought under the guise of a demand for political and social equality, represented really a struggle for higher wages and a higher standard of life during the periods of depression. Many masters could not afford to accede to the demands of their workers; others could, but would not. On the one side, stood the authorities, backed by military and civil forces and determined to preserve order, while on the other, stood the discontented, often-oppressed operatives, who could not fully appreciate the difficulties either of the Government or of the masters, but who believed in their own minds that they could and would, by violence, effect a change. The ensuing disorders settled nothing but injured both sides and added to the bitterness, of defeat for the workers, of losses for the masters.

The main recorded meetings and disorders may be listed :

- | | | |
|------|-----------|--|
| 1818 | July | A "Combination" of cotton spinners in Burnley. |
| | Sept. 10. | Strikes of weavers. |
| | Sept. 11. | "Shuttle-gathering" riots. |
| | Sept. 15. | Burnley prison attacked. |
| 1819 | Aug. 2. | Meeting at Gannow. |
| | Sept. | Strikes. |
| | Nov. 15. | Meeting at Gannow addressed by John Knight, the famous Radical. |
| 1820 | — | Strike of colliers. |
| 1826 | — | "Dole Time" and strikes. |
| 1839 | — | Chartist club plans a general strike.
First visit of O'Connor, the Chartist leader. |
| 1840 | — | Serious riots in Colne. |
| 1842 | June | Strikes: mills attacked. |
| | June 14. | Second visit of O'Connor. |
| | Aug. | Plug Riots. |

The return of better trade after 1845 proved to be the solution to the problems of 1815-50, for as the market expanded and trade improved, higher wages were paid and the surplus of available labour was absorbed into industry. At the same time, it must be remembered that it was by Parliamentary measures, adopted before 1850, that trade had increased, prices for commodities and bread had been reduced, the misery of men, women and children in factories and coal mines had been alleviated, and a basis for years of prosperity had been laid. Political grievances, however, remained, and Radicals still fought, on constitutional lines, the battle of political freedom.

CHAPTER XII.

Religion, 1750-1850.

GENERAL SURVEY.

The trend that religion had taken under the early Hanoverian monarchs continued in the Established Church until the closing years of the 18th century. Parish clergy emphasized morality, usually laid little stress on dogma, and deplored any show of emotion or sentiment. Discourses from the pulpit were often argumentative and reasoned treatises that made no appeal to an uneducated people. Many of the clergy showed little zeal for their town parishes but preferred the calm retreat of some country vicarage. Attendance at town churches by the upper classes with their dependents became a formality to be observed because it was fashionable; the leading laity in the parish regarded church-office as theirs by right, and, as a compact body of moderately wealthy men, formed a church oligarchy.

Into the spiritual stagnation that was thus settling over the country came sweeping the full flood of John Wesley's uncompromising ardour for the salvation of souls. His simple creed of personal sin and personal assurance of salvation, bringing new birth and domination over evil, appealed to the masses and was destined to have great results. Numbers flocked to the Methodist Societies in spite of the open hostility of the Established Church, which would not tolerate open air services for vast crowds and regarded the raptures of the newly "converted" with suspicion.

The religious revival affected all sides of public and private life. The Gospel of Christ as preached by the Dissenters was individual and intimate and was expressed in a practical form by care for the sick and needy and by a long uphill struggle against drunkenness, gambling, immorality and vice of every kind. The services of the chapel were taken into the lowest parts of the town and many a prayer meeting was held in a slum cottage. The advantages of thrift were constantly extolled and all were encouraged to save and apply their "talents" to their own social betterment. At the same time, Methodism taught obedience to King and Parliament and so countered the revolutionary spirit that came from poverty and injustice, and directed the thoughts of the poor into other channels; the sufferings of the poor might be grievous, but, as Christians, they were rich for they inherited the Kingdom of Heaven. Every chapel that was established was a source of

immense pride to the men and women who worshipped there and managed its activities; they formed a community, separate and distinct from the rest of the town, and the chapel was "theirs," so to speak, in a way that the Parish Church could never be. Of course, there were quarrels within the chapels, sometimes on doctrine, sometimes on government, but their quarrels showed a fiery enthusiasm for the recognition of individual opinions: occasionally a section of the congregation split away from the parent chapel to found a separate community where personal views and prejudices could be put into practice. Such actions are the basis of democratic life. However, a working-class religious body could not be entirely divorced from working-class politics and many a local preacher became a leader of local Radicals, striving for reforms that would sweep away social injustices. The fact that large numbers joined the Dissenters' chapels was of immense value to the future Liberal party.

It was not until late in the 18th century that the Established Church was really affected by the new religious spirit. A new enthusiasm then infused the leaders and the laity, and gave a practical expression to the principles of Christianity that won many adherents; soon churchmen rivalled dissenters in their zeal for social good.

Thus, in 1750, religious life in Burnley seemed almost moribund, but, by 1850, crowds of worshippers were thronging to church and chapel.

ST. PETER'S CHURCH.

THE FABRIC.

No great alterations to the fabric of the Parish Church had taken place since 1532, when the nave and north aisle were rebuilt. The dilapidated condition of the ancient south aisle at last made extensive alterations necessary and it was decided in 1789 to rebuild completely the south aisle and increase the seating capacity of the church by adding a gallery. The total cost of the structural alterations was approximately £1,000. No porch was apparently built on the south aisle but the erection of a sundial "Constructed by Mr. Whyman of Gawthorpe in the year 1791" kept up an old tradition that there should be such an instrument in a churchyard. The alterations of 1789-91 were the first of many that have completely changed the appearance of the church.

In 1802, permission was granted by the Bishop of Chester to put a new organ in the east end, install a peal of eight bells, raise the north wall of the church and the roof

(i.e. the north aisle) equal to the south wall and roof, and build a gallery and staircase on the north side with pews or seats, some of which were to be sold and the others allocated by ballot. The Burnley Committee responsible for the alterations were the Reverend John Raws, assistant curate, the Reverend John Hargreaves, John Holgate, merchant, Webster Fishwick, tanner, Sagar Veevers, cotton manufacturer, Joshua Hitchon, jun., Joseph Massey, woollen manufacturer, Christopher Tattersall, woollen manufacturer, William Beanland, landlord of the Thorn, and William Cooper, cotton manufacturer. The total cost was defrayed by subscriptions which amounted to £1,884/15/0; among the 197 subscribers were Charles Towneley £100, John Hargreaves £100, Sagar Veevers £50, and the Rev. Thomas Collins £21. The tower was raised 30 feet in order to accommodate the new bells. The new gallery was 72 feet long and contained 53 pews; of these, 27 were sold, eight others were sold but were of "little value" and 16 were allotted by ballot. The buying of a seat entitled a family to hold it as an inherited possession and it is evident that several families that had risen to eminence in the town during the past half century took advantage of the opportunity to acquire a family pew in the Parish Church. The front pews in the new gallery were bought by William Crook, ironmonger, John Shaw of Burnley Common, brewer, Richard Clegg of Royle, farmer, and John Holgate, merchant. The firm of Peel, Yates, and Co. purchased a pew on behalf of the family of Peels, residing at Bridge End House. The organ was placed in the chancel with a small gallery for the choir.⁽¹⁾

"The Church was re-opened for Divine Service on the 20th, 21st and 22nd of October 1803, when £27 were distributed as Prizes for superior skill in ringing the bells. On Thursday, October 20th, the Bradford ringers commenced the opening and their performances were followed by the "Messiah at Burnley Church" on Friday the 21st. During the next day the "Ashton-under-Lyne ringers rung Holt's peal of 5040 changes of grandshire trebles in two hours and fifty two minutes;"—the "Oldham ringers rung 3500 changes in one hour and fifty eight minutes:"—the "Sowerby ringers rung 1500 changes in fifty nine minutes;"—and the "Bradford ringers rung 1008 changes in forty five minutes:"—the witnesses being "Edward Simons, bellhanger from London; James Burgess, John Fitton, and John Berry." Of the prize-money "Ashton received £10/10/0; Oldham £6/6/0; Bradford £6; and Sowerby £4/4/0."⁽²⁾

1. Papers in the Central Library, 2. Wilkinson—Hist. of the Church p. 63. Burnley.

In 1807, the Vestry summoned a public meeting to consider the need for an extension of the churchyard. At that time, that part of the present churchyard which lies between the church and the river was private property belonging to the Towneley family and on it had been built the old Grammar School and one or two cottages; a "garden at the Steeplend" was kept by a man named Lister. The need for extending the churchyard was all the greater because the population of the parish was rapidly increasing and St. Peter's churchyard was the main burial ground for the whole of the parish. The Reverend John Hargreaves was asked to negotiate for the land which had belonged to the Towneley family since 1469 and finally it was agreed to accept the offer of the owners to sell for £400. The enclosure took place about 1809 when the churchyard was drained "More efficiently," "paving from the church gates to the adjoining street" was "completed and finished," and an instalment of £50 was paid to Mr. Towneley. Shortly afterwards, the churchyard was properly enclosed by walls and railings.⁽³⁾

HEATING.

The church was not heated before the 19th century and "keeping warm" in wintertime was a difficulty not completely overcome by the use of charcoal foot-warmers. In 1816 a proposal was made to heat the church but by what means is uncertain; the cost was to be borne by subscriptions but if they were not sufficient, it was suggested that a church rate should be levied. The heating arrangement was possibly carried out because in 1834 the churchwardens resolved that "the steam pipes be taken down and sold and the money invested in the Savings Bank, except £3/4/6 owing to the Gas Company."⁽⁴⁾ Whether this resolution implies that gas was used to heat a boiler to provide steam-heating for the church, is left to the interpretation of the reader.

MUSIC.

The organ of 1802 must have proved a sad disappointment since public subscriptions were again solicited in 1835 for a new one. An organist was also appointed in the same year by those subscribing £3 and over; he was Mr. Charles Morine, Burnley's leading musician. The organist's salary was made up of the interest from monies invested in the Burnley-Edenfield Turnpike Trust and an annual collection after a Sunday morning service in the month of June; to in-

4. Churchwardens' Accounts.

3. Papers in the Central Library, Burnley.

crease that sum, he was allowed to take any perquisites he could get from "instructing singers and finding music for the organ and choir."⁽⁵⁾

The choir was a constant source of trouble and a Committee "to manage them" was appointed. Their main complaint was the poor financial return for their services; once again, a solution was found by asking for public subscriptions.⁽⁶⁾

ENDOWMENTS.

The value of the endowments increased very considerably after the passing of the 1819 Burnley Curacy Act, which allowed glebe-land to be leased out for long terms. The Park and the district of Hufing Lane (Burnley Wood) were taken for building sites. The only new endowment was the gift by John Halstead of a rent charge of £2 on premises in Burnley Centre. It was granted to the Incumbent for preaching annually a sermon on the first Sunday in May from the text, "For here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come." (Heb. XIII 14).

THE ALTERATIONS OF 1854.

In 1850 the wardens called attention to the dilapidated condition of the church-roof and the expert examination which followed the complaint showed that the roof-beams were likely to collapse and that it was positively dangerous for worshippers to attend services. Many suggestions were made and at one time the Committee appointed to deal with the matter considered rebuilding the whole Church on a larger scale. The cost of completely rebuilding the church was prohibitive and it was therefore decided to adopt the architect's suggestions concerning the roof. As the work of repair progressed, more improvements were introduced so that when the Church was re-opened on November 2nd 1854, it presented much the same appearance as at present. All the old, irregular box-pews and forms had been replaced by uniform open pews, thus increasing the seating accommodation; the font had been placed in the south-west of the Church; the position of the gallery-staircases had been altered and the galleries extended; a new reading-desk and a new stone pulpit had taken the place of the old three-decker pulpit; a vestry for the clergy had been built and the organ had been placed in the west gallery; the tall pillars that had supported the roof of the nave had been shortened and re-shaped and arches had

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

been built on them to support a loftier roof; clerestory windows gave extra light to the interior and broke the monotony of the new stone-work. The beauty of the Church was further enhanced by a new east window which was installed "as a mark of respect and esteem for their beloved minister, the Rev. Robert Mosley Master, M.A., Honorary Canon of Manchester, and for 28 years Incumbent of this Chapelry."⁽⁷⁾

INCUMBENTS.

Turner Standish B.A. Brasenose College, 1744-1787.

Thomas Collins D.D. Worcester College, 1787-1816.

Edmund Stringfellow Radcliffe B.C.L. Brasenose College, 1817-1826.

Robert Mosley Master M.A. Balliol College, 1826-1855.

Assistant Curate: John Raws 1788-1835.

Mr. Turner Standish, a member of the family of Standish of Duxbury, had been Chaplain to H.M.S. Monmouth for some years before his appointment to Burnley Church, to which he had been nominated by Thomas Townley of Royle. He has left no lasting impression on Burnley and the registers show that he was often absent from his Church for long periods, during which the services were conducted by "officiating ministers" from the neighbourhood, e.g. Mr. Fishwick of Padiham and Mr. Halliwell of Holme.

Mr. Thomas Collins rarely attended Burnley Church and spent most of his time at Gisburn where he was private Chaplain of Thomas Lister, the first Lord Ribblesdale, and steward of some of the Ribblesdale estates. He preached a sermon at St. Peter's on November 4th 1787 "on the institution of Sunday Schools there" and styled himself "Curate of Burnley, Rector of Compton Valence, in Dorsetshire, and Chaplain in Ordinary to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales." Mr. Collins published the sermon and in the preface to the publication which was written in London, he wrote that "his anxiety to promote the undertaking at Burnley was principally excited by the very eminent manner in which that learned Diocesan (the Bishop of London) had represented the subject to his Clergy." The main source of inspiration for the Sunday School movement at St. Peter's, however, came from the self-sacrificing love that William Todd, a Burnley textile artisan, and one or two churchwardens showed for the children of the poor.

7. Wilkinson—Hist. of the Church
passim.

Edmund Stringfellow Radcliffe was the perpetual Curate of Walton le Dale and rarely visited Burnley.

John Raws carried on the work of the parish during the absences of Mr. Collins and Mr. Radcliffe. He came to Burnley at the age of 28 and soon made himself beloved by the parishioners. He was a friend to all, could sympathise with the poor, and "was next to the King in popularity." He became the Headmaster of the Grammar School in 1797 and for some years lived at the White House, which was Grammar School property; his income of over £35 from the Church and £100 and fees from the School enabled him to build "a good and convenient house" at 1 Park Street (off Bank Parade). He had a witty and caustic tongue, and when parties adjourned for refreshment to a near-by inn after a wedding ceremony at St. Peter's, he used to describe the reason as being "the thirst after righteousness." In appearance, he was dignified, rather corpulent, and gave the impression of being at peace with both heaven and earth. He was ready to take advantage of any possible profits afforded by local enterprise, joined in the "Club" to build the Clubhouses and was allotted No. 23 Brown Street, and became a Director of the Burnley Water Company. He died on April 9th 1835, aged 73 years; he had been assistant curate for 47 years and headmaster of the Grammar School for 36 years. A tablet was erected to his memory by his grateful parishioners which described him as "A man of primitive simplicity and integrity; pious, humble, peaceful, charitable; who in the diligent discharge of his laborious duties, instructing by example no less than by precept, won the esteem, affection, and veneration of all ages and classes of his flock."

Robert Mosley Master was born at Croston and was educated at several schools before going to Eton and thence to Balliol College where he graduated in 1815. He was appointed to the Curacy of Tarleton in 1817 but resigned after a few months and travelled in Greece, Egypt, and the Holy Land. On his return in 1820 he was appointed to the Curacy of Croston and later to a similar position at Chorley. He came to Burnley in June 1826. He was appointed private Chaplain to Lord Derby in 1827 and to Lord Carrington in 1830 but did not allow these offices to interfere with his work at St. Peter's. Honours came to him in quick succession as a token of appreciation of his great work in Burnley:—Rural Dean of Whalley, Honorary Canon of Manchester, Archdeacon of Manchester. After 29 years of faithful service to Burnley, he retired to a less arduous curacy at Croston where he died in 1867 at the age of 74.

During the cholera epidemic of 1832-3, Mr. Master held special Services of Intercession, urging on the people the need for prayer, fasting and humiliation. He also collected and published in book form hymns and metrical versions of the Psalms to be sung in St. Peter's.

Mr. Mosley Master infused new life into the parish. He saw that it was impossible for St. Peter's to remain the only Established Church to satisfy the spiritual needs of a population of 13,000 in 1831 and 25,000 in 1851. He therefore caused six new parishes to be set up out of the ancient chapelry. Mr. Wallis has pointed out that "in each case he seems to have worked on the same sensible plan of first gathering together a congregation of adults and a school of children. In private houses and in schools, meetings and services were held, and when by these apostolic means he had attracted a compact body of adherents whose succession was assured in their children, he launched a scheme for building a church. When the church was built and consecrated and the capital sum necessary for the endowment of the benefices raised, he procured an Order in Council assigning a district to the church. . . In addition to these labours, the "clogging parson," as Mr. Master was called, built St. Peter's School in 1828 and thoroughly restored and renovated the structure of St. Peter's Church, 1853-4. When Mr. Master became incumbent of Burnley, he and Mr. Raws, and the incumbent of Holme were the only priests of the Church of England in the whole chapelry; when his successor arrived thirty years later he found eight churches and sixteen priests at work in the same area." The new parishes created through the work of Mr. Master were Worsthorne 1835, Briercliffe 1836, Habergham Eaves 1835, St. James, Burnley 1849, Habergham 1849, and St. Paul, Lane Bridge 1852.⁽⁸⁾

HOLY TRINITY, HABERGHAM EAVES.

The Church of Holy Trinity was erected as the parish church of Habergham Eaves. The laying of the foundation stone on June 24th 1835 was celebrated as a local holiday, mills were closed and children from St. Peter's went in procession to the ceremony; special sermons were preached in St. Peter's by the Reverend S. J. Allen, Headmaster of the Grammar School. The site of the Church was given by Robert Townley Parker and large subscriptions to the building fund were given by the same family and by the principal gentlemen and manufacturers of the district, including the Halsteads, Veevers,

8. Wallis—Hist. of the Church in Burnley p. 63.

and Roberts; Sunday school children also made special collections. The Church was consecrated in 1836 by Bishop Sumner. Improvements were made to the interior in 1845-6 and at the same time a stone pulpit was erected. The incumbents were the Reverend Thomas George James, M.A. 1836-1849 and the Reverend Thomas Wilson, M.A. 1849-1863.

ST. JAMES', BURNLEY.

In 1839 a Sunday school was built in Bethesda Street and here in 1844 the Reverend Hugh Stamer conducted Church services. Archdeacon Master laid the foundation stone of the new Church in 1848 but its erection coincided with a period of distress in Burnley and for some time the Church was left roofless because of the difficulty of raising the necessary funds. The Church was consecrated on September 27th 1849 by Bishop Lee of Manchester. The Reverend Hugh Stamer, M.A. was Curate 1844-49 and Vicar 1849-87.

ALL SAINTS', HABERGHAM.

All Saints' Church was erected 1846-9, at the sole cost of Sir James Kay Shuttleworth and John and James Dugdale. The foundation stone was consecrated by Bishop Lee on November 19th 1849. The Reverend Edward Arnold Verity, B.D. was the Curate 1843-45 and Vicar 1845-93.

ST. PAUL'S, LANE BRIDGE.

The site of this Church was given by the Rev. William Thursby and General Scarlet; the latter laid the foundation stone in 1852 and the Church was consecrated on May 27th 1853 by Bishop Lee. The Rev. Richard Nicholson was the Curate 1851-53 and Vicar 1853-79.

CHARITIES.

Monies given for the support of the poor in Burnley were usually distributed by the churchwardens so that a list of bequests may be inserted in this chapter.

1649. "The Rochester Dole." Robert Halstead of Rochester, haberdasher, bequeathed his property to his wife, and, on her death, to a kinsman, Robert Halstead of Wors-thorne, with the condition that he should pay out of the rents and profits of the property the sum of £3/6/8 to the poor people of Burnley and a like amount to the poor people of Wors-thorne, but that any relative of the Halsteads of Wors-thorne who happened to be in want, should receive the major

part of the monies. Legal opinion about the interpretation of the will was sought and it was decided that £3/6/8 should be given to the poor of Worsthorne and £3/6/8 should be equally divided between the four townships of Burnley, Habergham Eaves, Briercliffe and Cliviger. In 1823 Worsthorne still received its £3/6/8 (less tax) but half that sum plus 1d. had been paid yearly for 150 years to the descendants of Robert Halstead who happened to be in want; the four other townships received equal shares of the remaining £3/6/8. Its payment was discontinued for some time but was restored after enquiries and investigations had been made in 1850 by the wardens. At that time, Brunshaw maintained that as a township a share of the money should be paid to the poor of that locality.

1672. John Halstead of Broadbank, Briercliffe, bequeathed £3 a year from rentals of part of the Moseley Hill estate to be distributed in 5s. doles to the poor of Briercliffe and Extwistle.

1693. Isabel Shireburn bequeathed £190 to the poor of the parish. The capital sum produced £9 a year which was expended in apprenticing two poor children each year and the relief of the poor. In 1826, the Weld family, descendants of the Shireburns (and the Woodruffs of Bank Hall), sent £9 to Peregrine Towneley, who distributed it according to the will of the testator. The charity has now been lost.

1716. Catherine Cunliffe bequeathed £10 which yielded 9s. a year to be used for buying bibles for the poor.

Before 1786 Mrs. Townley bequeathed £10 to be used in providing shifts for six widows.

1800. Elizabeth Peel of Bridge End left £1,244/15/0 which was invested to produce the annual sum of £37/5/10. Of this sum, £20 was distributed in 4s. doles to 100 poor people of all denominations of Burnley and Habergham Eaves; the remainder was given in 1s. tickets for the purchase of clothing.

1804. Mollie Hindle bequeathed £500 for the relief of the poor and infirm of Burnley. The money was invested in Consols to produce an annual income of £13/5/0 which was distributed at Christmas in 5s. clothing tickets.

1805. George Stevenson left £20 to the Holme Sunday School and £30 for the use of four poor widows of Holme. The investment of the £30 yielded 4s. 8d. a year.

1814. Mary, the wife of Rev. John Hargreaves of Bank Hall, bequeathed £200 to be invested to provide clothing for old women of Burnley; the annual income was £9.

1820. "The Burnley Ladies' Charity" was started to provide warm clothing for poor women during confinement. Mrs. Townley Parker was the first President, Mrs. Lord Massey, the Secretary, and Miss Lord, the Treasurer; on the Committee were Mrs. Beanland, Mrs. Coultate, and Mrs. Gilbertson. In the first year, subscriptions amounting to £132/2/0 were collected and a sum of £82/11/6 was expended on the relief of 153 women. A matron or midwife used the funds of the society to provide gruel two or three times a day; she also presented each of her patients with two yards of flannel and loaned her a bag of linen containing 32 articles. The report of 1842-3 showed that the subscriptions amounted to £245 and the expenses £155.⁽⁹⁾

WESLEYAN METHODISM.⁽¹⁰⁾

Early religious societies were established in the neighbourhood of Burnley by William Darney, evangelist and pedlar, and were supported by the Reverend William Grimshaw, Vicar of Haworth. John Wesley visited a society at Roughlee as early as 1747 and one at Padiham in 1757, where he preached "to a large, wild congregation." Mr. Grimshaw, while Curate at Todmorden, preached at St. Peter's Church, but there is no evidence that he attempted to form an independent society in Burnley. In 1775 "Methodist evangelists, called by some "New Lights" and by others "Damnation preachers" preached in the open air at Burnley Wood." This possibly implies the existence of a small society at Burnley at that date but better evidence for an earlier society in 1763 is afforded by the record of 11 names of "members at Burnley" of a class attached to the Haworth Circuit. Mr. Wesley's first recorded visit to Burnley was in 1784, when he wrote on July 13th, "I went to Burnley, a place which had been tried for many years, but without effect. It seems the time was now come. High and low, rich and poor, now flocked together from all quarters; and all were eager to hear, except one man who was the town-crier. He began to bawl amain, till his wife ran to him, and literally stopped his noise: she seized him with one hand, and clapped the other upon his mouth, so that he could not get out one word. God then began a work which, I am persuaded, will not come to an end."

9. Two Reports in the Central Library, 10. Moore—Hist. of Wes. Meth. in Burnley.

Another diarist wrote "The work of God at Burnley was very young, but during this year (1784) many were converted. The great men of the place were angry, and agreed to banish the Methodist preacher from the town. The proprietor of the preaching-house sent us notices to quit the premises, and the rest of the gentlemen pledged themselves not to let us have another; but about a month before the expiration of the notice, the Lord converted a man who had a house of his own which he gave to the preachers, and now we had a better preaching-house than before. Soon after, a chapel was erected." It was a man named Peter Hargreaves, joiner, who had been converted and gave his workshop in Muschamp Yard, Saunder Bank, as a meeting place.

The second visit of Mr. Wesley to Burnley took place on April 18th 1786 and is recorded in the Journal, "I preached at Padiham, Burnley, Southfield, and Colne." Among the converts at this meeting, which was held in front of the Thorn Inn, were William Hopwood and his bride, who were walking home after the wedding ceremony at St. Peter's and stopped to listen to the famous preacher. They were among the stalwarts of early Methodism in Burnley.

In 1788, at the age of 85, Mr. Wesley paid his third visit to Burnley: "April 24th. We had a pleasant road from hence (Todmorden) to Burnley, where a multitude of people were waiting; but we had no house that could contain them. Just then, the rain ceased: so we went into the inn-yard, which contained them well; and it was an acceptable season, as indeed it was both the times before when I preached at Burnley." Mr. Wesley may have visited Burnley for the fourth time in 1790 when he preached at both Blackburn and Colne, since in that year John Wood of Padiham claimed 8s. for expenses "when Mr. Wesley was at Burn."

KEIGHLEY GREEN CHAPEL.

The lease of a plot of land in Keighley Green, on which to build a chapel, was taken on July 16th 1788, and the erection was probably completed before the end of the year, for in December, "stewards for the galleries and pews" were appointed for the following year. There was accommodation for 271 in 44 pews, for which a "seat-rent" was charged that varied from 4d. to 1s. a seat. Illumination was provided by candles until 1831 when gas was introduced, but the chapel remained unheated. Services were held at 9 a.m., 1-30 p.m. and 6 p.m. on Sundays, prayer meetings at various houses after Sunday evening service, and classes both at the chapel and at

the homes of the class-leaders. In 1790, the leaders were Jeremiah Spencer, Robert Riding, Joseph Marshall, Richard Birtwistle, and Thomas Driver. The original trustees were Robert Riding, Jeremiah Spencer, John Ashworth, William Pollard, William Lancaster, Christopher Hartley, John Eltoft, Richard Birtwistle, John Farrer, Thomas Driver, Joseph Marshall, William Kay, Benjamin Booth, John Tuble, James Wood, John Wood, and John Nuttall; owing to the death of several trustees the following were elected to serve in their stead in 1811:— Thomas Eltoft, cotton manufacturer, Thomas Kay, cotton manufacturer, William Hopwood, joiner, and John Moore, flour dealer.

From 1776 to 1810, Burnley was in the Colne circuit and at first preachers came from that town every other Sunday to conduct services: about 1805, a resident minister was appointed to Burnley and five years later, the Burnley circuit was formed. Other places in the Burnley circuit were Padiham, Accrington, Oakenshaw, Warren Lane, Whalley, Higham, Mereclough, Lowerhouse, and New Laund.

Ministers, local preachers, and class-leaders worked hard to win more converts to Christianity and did not confine their religious activities solely to the chapel. During 1830, prayer meetings were held simultaneously in 13 different places after Sunday evening service:— Foundry Street, Gannow, Pickup Croft, Exmouth Street, Thorney Bank, Cable Street, Burnley Lane, St. James' Street, Dawson Square, Union Street, Hebrew Road (at Benjamin Bell's), Curzon Street, and in the chapel vestry. Most of these places were in the very poorest parts of the town. Increased membership came as a result of the love and devotion of the early enthusiasts for Burnley Methodism and soon new premises became necessary. In July 1828 there were in the Burnley Circuit 18 class-leaders with 459 adult members and a further 20 "on trial":— Benjamin Fielding with 27 members, Edward Pollard 20, James Whitley 16, William Hopwood, sen. 29, William Hopwood, jun. 30, Thomas Ward 25, William Fishwick 39, Thomas Hudson 16, Ann Hudson 11, Gannow 10, William Lancaster 34, Edward Riley 43, James Howorth 20, James Hartley 24, John Hargreaves 18, James Smallpage 26, Thomas Eagin 26, James Greenhalgh 28, and "The preachers' class" 19.

The circuit steward's account book 1810-28⁽¹¹⁾ shows that in the earliest years the "first" minister's salary was 32 guineas a year with an extra eight guineas for each child; the "second" minister, who was unmarried received 16 guineas a

11. In the Central Library, Burnley.

year and a like amount for his board with his colleague. In 1818 it became customary to appoint two married ministers and in the following year the salary of each was raised to 40 guineas a year with an extra allowance for children. In addition, the circuit provided houses, furnishings, coal and candles, and paid the wages of a servant at each house (£10 a year) with extra for washing and shoe-cleaning; all rates, taxes, medical expenses were paid and an allowance was made for "letters and papers."

WESLEY CHAPEL, HARGREAVES STREET.

In 1838 a plot of land was bought in Hargreaves Street on which to erect the new chapel. The foundation stone was laid on Good Friday 1839 and the building with accommodation for 1,600 people was opened exactly 12 months later. The cost amounted to £5,656 but subscriptions and collections totalled over £3,000. The principal contributors to the fund for the erection of the chapel were as follows:— Messrs. William Hopwood and Son £400, George Barnes and Son £400, James Howorth and family £200, William Fishwick £200, George Fishwick £100, J. Robinson Kay £100, Miss Kay £105, George Fishwick "in memory of a daughter" £100, James Winterbottom and Sons £100, John Hargreaves £80, James Smallpage £70, and Thomas Eagin £20.

ACCRINGTON ROAD.

Methodism in this district had its origin in the work of small societies, one of which held services in a small cottage in Cog Lane. Soon a larger cottage in the same Lane became necessary to accommodate increased number of worshippers and here "a peculiar contrivance was resorted to in order to provide accommodation for the hearers. The preacher was stationed in a corner of the room on the ground floor. Above his head a hole of a suitable size was driven through the ceiling, and protected by a low rail. The scholars, with their teachers, remained upstairs during the time of service. The rest of the congregation filled the room below. Both could partially see and distinctly hear the preacher. It was an arrangement which perhaps better than any other solved the difficulty of packing large numbers into a small space, but it involved physical discomfort to all." The first chapel, which measured 12 yards square, was built in 1849 and was known as Bartle Hills Chapel. Within a comparatively few years, the congregation out grew its accommodation and in 1871 the Accrington Road Chapel was built at a cost of £2,700.

PARK HILL.

A society was formed in this district about 1826 and preaching services were held once a fortnight. The cause continued with varying fortunes until 1843 when it became more firmly established through the generosity of Mr. Thomas Dugdale who defrayed the cost of building a chapel and Sunday-school. Mr. Dugdale preached in the chapel on many occasions and for many years was the superintendent of the school.

BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.

In 1812 the first Burnley Wesleyan Benevolent Society appeared under the name of "The Burnley Society for the relief of the poor in time of sickness or accidental distress." Members of the Society visited the sick and gave them financial and other material aid. A Dorcas Society was founded in 1840 to provide clothing "for the industrious or afflicted but necessitous poor;" in the second year of its existence it helped 189 poor families. At the same time chapel members distributed religious tracts. In 1857 the "Burnley Wesleyan Town Mission" was founded and with it were amalgamated most of the existing Societies.

THE BAPTISTS.

The earliest date for the Baptist movement in this district is 1760 when William Smith of Hill, Briercliffe, shalloon maker, and a few others met for worship in a barn at Burwains. Smith's trade no doubt brought him into contact with people from Heptonstall where a Baptist chapel had existed since 1704, and it is from that source that early Baptist inspiration came to Haggate. By 1767 a chapel had been built at Haggate with the following as trustees:— William Smith, shalloon maker, Ambrose Walton, Wheatley Lane, piece maker, James Hoyle, Hill, shalloon maker; John Hargreaves, Colne, weaver; John Heap, Marsden, farmer; John Burrows, Marsden, weaver; Hartley Emmott, Haggate, weaver; John Stuttard, Southfield, weaver; Jonathan Hey, Briercliffe, cordwainer.⁽¹²⁾

EBENEZER.⁽¹³⁾

Daniel Taylor of Halifax seems to have been the first Baptist preacher in Burnley. He had once worked in a coal mine and after a miraculous escape from death joined the Wesleyan body of 1761; he was perturbed in mind about the question of baptism and walked some 120 miles to Boston to

12. Leaver—Haggate Baptist Ch.: Nuttall—Ebenezer Ch. Hill Lane. 13. Hist. of Ebenezer, Burnley.

receive baptism according to Baptist rites. He then became a preacher for his new church particularly at Birchcliffe, near Wadsworth, and began to visit Burnley and neighbouring places. On April 22nd 1777 he wrote "There is an appearance of great success in most of the places where we preach and particularly at one place in Lancashire which we have lately entered though all preachers for 20 of 30 years past have been beaten out of it. The people are ignorant and barbarous beyond description. Five from thence have lately offered for baptism, whom I expect to baptise on the 5th of May."

References to Burnley made in 1779 by Mr. Taylor are more precise "A few months ago, I ventured to hire a house in the market place of Burnley, a town of some note in Lancashire, to preach in. The town is a wretched place: no religion in, or near it, that we know of. The Methodists have made several attempts there, I am told, but have always been beaten out. The Quarter Sessions at Preston being far distant, I wrote to the Bishop of Chester's Court for a licence, and received one, a month since: so that I went to open the place on the 10th inst. and intend being there again on the 31st. Brethren Sutcliffe and Folds have been once; and we intend to preach there once every Lord's Day. The room is filled and the prospect encouraging. I am particularly familiar with a physician and an attorney in the town, which I think will be of some advantage." About the same time, Mr. Taylor wrote to a Mr. Birley: "I have lately hired a house in Burnley to preach in. It is a wretched place. This will increase my expenses and labour, but the Lord will help me through."

It is clear from the above letters that Mr. Daniel Taylor was the pioneer of the Baptist cause in Burnley. He worked really hard for his faith and it is said of him that after preaching twice each Sunday at Birchcliffe, he walked to Burnley, preached in the evening to a congregation of about 30, and then returned 14 miles to his home. Mr. Taylor baptised his early converts in the Brun. It is reported that the ceremony was marred by the activities of boys who pushed the coping stones of the bridge into the river.

Mr. R. Folds became minister of the little society in 1780. It had then a membership of only 26 but soon the numbers increased and it was decided to build a chapel. Land was bought at Rake Head and the first Ebenezer Chapel was built in 1786 at a cost of £300. As that sum was more than the members could meet, Mr. Folds visited many Baptist communities in various counties to ask for financial help. His mission was successful and the debt on the chapel was paid.

Of the eight ministers of Ebenezer 1787-1849, probably the most noteworthy was Mr. George Dean 1810-1818. For a time he walked from Halifax to Burnley each Sunday, conducted the services, and then walked home the same day. He was succeeded by Mr. Henry Astin 1821-36, who kept a day school at Rakehead. Mr. Kneeshaw has recorded a comparison between the two ministers; Mr. Astin "was a man of learning though I have heard it said that he was not the equal to George Dean, a former minister, in Greek and Hebrew, but better as a pulpit orator." The congregation came from all parts of Burnley and was drawn from all classes of society; the wealthiest supporters were John and Robinson Greenwood. Church rules were strict and Charles Wood in 1835 was asked to resign from membership for joining a secret society.

"During its early history a Sunday School was held in a room over some cottages or a stable on the east side of Colne Road. About 1815 the society enlarged its premises by the purchase of a house, for use as a Schoolroom and Vestry. About 1850 a school was built on the site of the present chapel. This was pulled down in 1859 to make room for the present chapel." The present school was built in 1870⁽¹⁴⁾

SION (YORKSHIRE STREET).

This chapel owes its origin to the work of Mr. Richard Hall, a Calvinist, who opened a school in Pickup Croft in 1827. Here he conducted services in which he was helped by Mr. Kershaw and Mr. Leeming, ironmonger. They followed the religious principles of the Particular Baptists. A society was established in 1828 and the Reverend D. Griffiths became the pastor. His salary varied between 7s. and 18s. a week. The first Sion Chapel was built in 1835 at a cost of £600 but under the leadership of the Reverend R. Evans, 1844-75, membership of the Church grew until it was necessary in 1862 to rebuild the premises on a much larger scale.

ENON (RED LION STREET).

Enon was founded in 1850 by a body of Baptists who disagreed with the policy pursued at Ebenezer. The Ebenezer pastor, the Reverend T. Batey, became the first pastor at Enon.

JIREH (BOOT STREET).

Jireh Chapel was erected in 1853 by the "Gadsbyites." its chief promoter was Mr. Henry Holden.

14. Kneeshaw—Hist. of Burnley in the 19th Century p. 86.

MOUNT PLEASANT (HAMMERTON STREET).⁽¹⁵⁾

This chapel owes its origin to the enthusiasm of Mr. J. Taylor, wine and spirit merchant; he was helped considerably by Mr. J. Nuttall and Mr. R. Clegg. As members of Sion Chapel, they were anxious to spread their faith and set up another Baptist community. Mr. Taylor consulted the Reverend C. H. Spurgeon when he preached in Burnley in 1867 and was encouraged to go on with his project. The salary of a pastor was guaranteed by the three promoters and Mr. Oldring was sent to take charge of the new society. The first meetings were held in the Mechanics' but they were later transferred to the Oddfellows' Club rooms in Keighley Green. When the United Methodists left Mount Pleasant for their new chapel of Brunswick, the newly established Baptist Society bought the Hammerton Street premises in 1868.

THE UNITED METHODISTS.⁽¹⁶⁾

When the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1834 refused to allow the Reverend Phillip Garrett to stay another year in the Burnley Circuit, about 100 members of Keighley Green Chapel resigned and began to worship in an upper room over a grocery stores and a smithy in Lane Bridge. The room could accommodate about 200 and was approached by outside steps; it had rough unplastered walls and a flour tub covered with cotton cloth served as a pulpit. After a very few months, during which two local preachers, J. Curedale and T. Farrer, conducted religious services, the congregation decided to join "The Protestant Wesleyan Methodists" of Leeds with the avowed intention "to keep the unprincipled and ambitious in subordination to law and to preserve the liberties of the people." It is clear that the new Methodist body desired a really democratic government of their chapels and disliked the autocratic powers which the ministerial Conference of the Wesleyan Church had assumed.

Soon after the amalgamation with the Leeds Society in October 1834, the Reverend William Ince of Leyland came as minister. His coming was the signal for a great revival and within three months the attendance at class meetings had increased from 91 to 200 and by April 1835 there were 189 full members and 188 "on trial." A new chapel became necessary but until that could be erected a room in Salford Mill was taken which could accommodate 800 people. Here every Sunday morning an early service was held and then preacher and congregation went in procession to hold an open-air service at Stoops; evening service was conducted in the Mill.

15. Information supplied by Councillor S. Taylor. 16. Hist. of Brunswick: Minute Books of Trustees.

MOUNT PLEASANT.

To the great joy of the members of the Society, the foundation stone of their new chapel at Mount Pleasant was laid on February 8th 1835, and the first service was held on June 17th of the same year. So many attended the opening service that an overflow meeting was held. "The Protestant Wesleyan Methodist Society" was, however, too small to make very considerable headway and it therefore united in 1836 with another branch that had left the Wesleyan body, to become "The Wesleyan Methodist Association;" eventually, another branch, called "The Wesleyan Reformers," united with the Association in 1857 to make "The United Methodist Free Church," a body, which remained up to comparatively recent times.

At first, the Chapel was unheated and unventilated. To remedy the first grievance, the trustees agreed in August 1845 that "the chapel shall be heated with hot water" but two months later they rescinded the resolution and installed a stove. The problem of ventilation was only tackled in 1852 when a roof ventilator was built. In 1850 the chapel was enlarged by taking down the gable end and building it "nine yards backwards." This entailed altering the choir pew and pulpit and "making the Communion more of an ellipse than a circle."

From the very beginning of the Society in 1834, members at Lane Bridge and Mount Pleasant showed great enthusiasm for anything that would improve the spiritual and moral life of the people of Burnley. A Sunday school that was begun in 1834 at Lane Bridge was soon overcrowded, and though extra accommodation was provided by the erection of a gallery in the meeting room, another room in Exmouth Street had to be taken where some of the boys could be taught. When Mount Pleasant was built, the lower rooms were adapted for a Sunday school, but within twelve months another school had to be built in Hammerton Street. Friendly Societies were also started, of which the most important was "The Benevolent and Strangers' Friend Society for the relief of the industrious poor in time of sickness or accidental distress;" it was founded in 1836. Two years later, the Mount Pleasant Sunday School Sick Society was started. To combat the evils of intemperance, "The Youths' Temperance Society" was formed in 1846 by Mr. Todd and in the same year "The Mount Pleasant Sunday School Total Abstinence Society" was founded. The latter Society continued until 1855 when it became "The Town and Temperance Mission." The early leaders were John Stott (nephew of George Barnes), George Graham, John Richmond, Edward Berry, and T. Sunderland. They arranged lectures,

concerts, tea-parties, and entertainments, but, above all, they held open-air temperance meetings, often twice a week, in Hammerton Street, Lane Bridge and Fulfilled Meadow. In February 1855 Mr. William Whitham became the Missioner and was paid £5 a year for his very efficient and arduous services.⁽¹⁷⁾

The first trustees of Mount Pleasant included George Keighley, John Wilkinson, Caleb and Peter Lord, Thomas Farrer, Thomas Boothman, William Chaffer, Robert Holt, Samuel Eltoft, John Nuttall, George Whitehead and Edmund Whittaker. Later trustees included James Richmond, William Hudson, John Baron, T. Harling and J. M. Todd.

Mount Pleasant continued as a chapel for the United Methodists until 1869 when Brunswick Chapel was built to accommodate the larger congregations; the old chapel was sold to the Baptists.

THE PRIMITIVE METHODISTS.⁽¹⁸⁾

The early history of this branch of Methodism in Burnley is rather obscure. It is certain, however, that there was a Society in the early years of the 19th century since membership tickets were distributed in 1822. The local Society was at that time in the Blackburn branch of the Hull Circuit, but after reorganisation in 1823 it was placed in the Clitheroe branch of the Silsden Circuit. The two ministers of the Circuit were Jonathan Clewer and John Oxtoby; the latter was a Yorkshire agricultural labourer, known as "Praying Johnny," and was a devoted, original, and somewhat eccentric character; he showed great zeal as a house-to-house visitor and was everywhere welcomed as a man of prayer. It is said that every day he spent not less than six hours at prayer. In 1824 the Clitheroe Circuit was formed and was under the supervision of the Reverend J. Bastow. However, the Burnley Society had made such progress that in 1829 the Burnley Circuit was created with ten preaching places:—Burnley, Barley, Marsden, Wycollar, Cheapside, Padiham, Trawden, Salterforth, Colne, and Cliviger Mill.

In 1834 the Curzon Street Chapel was opened with a membership of 62: it now forms part of the building occupied by Messrs. E. Wood and Son. Larger premises became necessary and "Bethel" Chapel in Hammerton Street was opened on June 24th, 1852. Like other Nonconformist bodies, the Primitive Methodists were

17. Minute Book.

18. Hist of Mount Zion, Colne Road.

missionaries in the town, and prayer meetings and religious services were held in cottages and in the open-air. In 1847 a mission room was opened in Briercliffe Road and here for three years services were held. A small chapel costing £200 was opened in 1850 and this remained the home of the Briercliffe Road worshippers until 1877 when the trustees decided to erect a new chapel in Colne Road.

THE CONGREGATIONALISTS.⁽¹⁹⁾ BETHESDA.

The Lancashire Congregational Union began its work in 1806 and for the first nine months services were conducted by ministers of various chapels in the Union. At last in 1807 Mr. George Partington was appointed the regular minister of the small community in Burnley. The early meetings were held in a room above William Pate's shop, which stood in old property nearly opposite the Victoria Theatre. Here, Mr. Partington preached three times every Sunday, met "the friends for social prayer and religious conversation" on Tuesday evenings and gave a lecture on Thursday evenings; other evenings were spent in services in neighbouring towns and villages, including Colne, Whalley and Harwood. The work met with "violent opposition from various and some unexpected quarters" and "through ignorance or malice, or both, the doctrines which he preached were represented in a most horrid light;" to make the mischief more effective, pamphlets against him were industriously circulated. Fortunately the opposition soon died out and the cause prospered. On December 7th 1807, Mr. Partington wrote, "We have now a church formed, consisting of ten members. Besides occasional members, five more have spoken to us about being proposed at the next meeting: and there are probably 15 persons, exclusive of the above, concerning whose Christianity I have no doubt." In his annual report to the Union in 1808, the minister stated that "Many hundreds crowded to hear the word of life every time it was preached, and some of the most profligate characters in this licentious place were pricked in their hearts, and converted to God, and are now adorning the Gospel." In 1810 Mr. Partington removed to Colne where a chapel had just been built, but continued to minister to the Burnley congregation until 1811.

The Reverend Mr. Shipley succeeded and appears to have concentrated all his work and energy on promoting the cause of Christianity in Burnley and its immediate neighbourhood; he preached regularly on weekdays at Lane Ends, Hurst-

19. Nightingale—Lancs. Cong. Union.

wood, Pendle Bridge, Fence Gate, and Ightenhill. His enthusiasm inspired his Burnley congregation and in 1813 the work of building the early Bethesda Chapel was begun. On January 21st 1814 he wrote "Our chapel is built as high as the galleries and would soon have been ready to cover in, had it not been for the frosts. I trust that when it is finished, it will be well filled, for the inhabitants of the town came forward handsomely to help us and several have already been enquiring for seats." John Massey of Oakmount, woollen manufacturer, who became one of the first deacons of Bethesda, and Roger Cunliffe of Blackburn, banker, were most prominent in the movement for the erection of the chapel. It was opened on September 21st 1814.

Mr. Shipley left Burnley almost immediately after the chapel was opened and was succeeded on October 11th 1815 by the Reverend Thomas Greenall who stayed in Burnley until 1848. Mr. Greenall's work showed a quick success and within three months he was able to report that the morning congregation had trebled in number and that the evening services were attended by "many of the friends of the Established Church, several of whom have treated me in the kindest manner, and uniformly acted towards the interest in such a way as I could only expect if they were decided Dissenters. On Monday evenings we have a prayer meeting, which I regularly attend, and on Thursday evenings a sermon: at the former about 40, at the latter about 60 persons attend. About six months ago, we established a Sunday school, which now consists of 200 children." By 1817, membership had grown to such an extent that there was no longer any need for financial support from the Union. The total sum of money received since 1811 amounted to £212 1s. 0d. The chapel continued to prosper and in 1835 it was found necessary to "build up the boundary of their premises in the direction of St. James' Street" in order to provide more accommodation.

The Rev. Thomas Greenall was succeeded by the Reverend Daniel Evans in 1849 who came from a very important church in Newfoundland which was attended by the Governor of the Colony. Many thought that such a choice was unwise in so far that a Newfoundland church was hardly likely to fit a man to take charge of a Burnley chapel which ministered to the spiritual needs of an industrial population. As a consequence, some 43 members seceded and eventually established Salem Chapel.

In 1853 the Reverend John Stroyan of Dublin and Whitehaven succeeded Mr. Evans. Under Mr. Stroyan, Bethesda enjoyed great prosperity, and membership increased

to such an extent that it was decided to build a new chapel. Land was bought on Bank Parade in 1864 but after careful thought, the trustees resolved to demolish the old chapel and rebuild on its site. An unfortunate difference of opinion on policy led to the secession of a number of important families from Bethesda and thus Westgate Chapel came into existence in 1859.

Membership of a nonconformist chapel was regarded as an honourable privilege and anyone who could not fully and conscientiously subscribe to all the articles of faith peculiar to his denomination was expected to resign. John Massey, who had been one of the founders of Bethesda, resigned his office of deacon in 1823 "from a sense of duty" and his wife resigned the following year "from dissatisfaction with the minister and church;" they both rejoined in 1838 and continued in full membership until their deaths. Another member who had joined from Brighton, was soon asked to resign on account of his "heretical views." A third person was excluded from membership on account of "unsettled habits of attending, dissatisfaction with the ministry of the Word and lack of zeal for the Cause."⁽²⁰⁾

The leaders of Bethesda held strong views on the sale of intoxicants and passed the following resolution in 1832, two years after the Beer Act, which withdrew practically every restriction on the sale of beer:—"If any member open a public house, he shall cease to be a member with us, not because the thing is inimical in itself in the sight of God, but because there are so many abuses connected with such a line of business that this Church conceives that no one can glorify God in the eyes of the world or be comfortable in his own mind in coming to the Lord's Table." As a consequence of the resolution, one member was excluded "for opening a public house" but within two years and after giving up his new business, he was "restored honourably."

SALEM CHAPEL.

When 43 members of Bethesda broke away in 1849 because they did not agree with the decision to appoint a minister from Newfoundland, they at first worshipped in an upper room in Back Market Street and later in the old Temperance Hall in Hammerton Street. In 1850, the Reverend R. Wilson was appointed as minister and soon plans were made for the erection of Salem Chapel in Manchester Road. The chapel was opened on Good Friday 1851 and had a membership of 120 with a Sunday School of 450 children. A day school was also started but was closed in 1874.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM⁽²¹⁾

The Roman Catholics of Burnley shared in the great religious revival of the first half of the 19th century. For centuries their centre had been the Chapel at Towneley Hall but now they felt that the time had come for them to establish a Church of their own with a priest who should be largely independent of the Towneley family. Accordingly in 1817 a small Committee, composed of Mr. John Whitham, Mr. Edward Lovatt, Mr. James Marsland, Mr. Booth, Mr. Hartley, Mr. Eastwood, Mr. Haydock, and Mr. Riley, was formed to collect subscriptions to cover the cost of building a church in Burnley Wood. Mr. Peregrine E. Towneley supported the cause with the gift of land for the site of the church, and a donation of £1,000; soon the sum of £2,000 was raised. The Church stood in Todmorden Road opposite Brunswick Street and was opened in 1817. The first priest was the Reverend Charles Lupton and during his ministry there were 269 people attending worship. Father Lupton did not enjoy good health and died from consumption at Towneley in 1824. He was succeeded by Canon Hodgson whose work was so successful that the Burnley Wood Chapel had to be enlarged in 1829. The extensions were not sufficient to meet the increasing needs and it was decided in 1844 to build another Church in Eastgate to cost £15,000. In 1848 the numbers were 520 communicants, 1,600 of a congregation, 250 Sunday school scholars and 90 day school scholars. On account of some disagreement with Colonel John Towneley, Canon Hodgson and Canon Worthy left Burnley before the new Church was opened. Canon James Boardman was appointed to succeed them on July 9th 1849.

The foundation stone of St. Mary's was laid on March 20th 1846 by Bishop Brown and the Church was opened with great ceremony and rejoicing on August 2nd 1849 by the Right Reverend Dr. Wiseman (afterwards Cardinal). At the time of the opening there was a great deal of religious bigotry and cries of "No Popery" were once more heard in Burnley streets.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

The first Burnley Sunday school was started in 1787 by William Todd who gathered children together every Sunday in his house in Dawson Square. Mr. Todd was a textile worker in Peel's Mill at the bottom of Sandygate. According to information given by the founder's son, John Holgate, a churchwarden, visited the school and was so interested that he persuaded Mr. Joseph Massey and Mr. Tattersall to see "the 69 children, of both sexes, sitting together, learning to read the Scriptures." Mr. Todd consented to allow the

21. Smith—Chronicles of Blackburnshire.

children to go in procession to the Church to attend Divine Service after their lessons. Through the influence and encouragement of Church officials, the numbers in attendance at the School increased and it was found necessary to take rooms in the Grammar School; more teachers were employed and were paid about £4 a year. In a sermon preached at St. Peter's on November 4th 1787 on the "Institution of Sunday Schools there," the Reverend T. Collins, the Incumbent, declared that "the main object is the education of the poorer class among us in religious knowledge and pursuits" and urged on all the necessity to care for the children.—"Let us take early possession of their minds; fortify and store them with the sublime and animating principles of Christianity; enrich them with good opinions; encourage them to good attachments; inure them to good habits; and habituate them to good resolutions and good manners. Exhort them . . to hold fast their integrity . . amid the temptations and the examples of a profligate and licentious age."

About 1798 Mr. Todd removed to Lowerhouse to work in Peel's Mill there. This gave him the opportunity to found another Sunday school in Burnley.

The rules laid down for the Girls' Sunday School at St. Peter's are interesting: (1) The children must attend the School regularly every Sunday with their hands and faces clean at a quarter before nine o'clock in the mornings of the months of November, December, January and February, and at half-past eight in the mornings of the other eight months of the year; and in the afternoons at half-past one o'clock throughout the year. (3) During the time of prayer and singing, they shall not talk or be in an improper position, but join reverently and attentively in the services; nor shall they leave their class, at any time or on any pretence whatever, without permission from the teacher. (4) Each scholar shall attend Divine Service in the Church, whenever the Superintendent shall give directions for that purpose. (6) Each scholar who is regular in her attendance, and behaves in a proper manner at the School, and the Church, will, from time to time, be rewarded with suitable books at the discretion of the Superintendent: on the contrary, every scholar negligent in her attendance, or guilty of improper conduct either at School or Church, will be punished in such manner as the nature of the case may require.

By 1853 the following Sunday schools were in existence:— St. Peter's 1787, Lowerhouse (Wesleyan) 1798, St. Mary's (Roman Catholic) 1798, Ebenezer (Baptist) 1800, Bethesda (Congregational) 1808, Red Lion Street (Wesleyan) 1811,

Bethel (Primitive) 1829, Sion (Baptist) 1830, Mount Pleasant (United Methodist) 1834, Back Lane (Church) 1835, Mount Pischah (United Methodist) 1835, Holy Trinity 1839, St. James' 1839, All Saints' 1842, Park Hill (Wesleyan) 1843, Briercliffe Road (Primitive) 1847, St. Paul's 1848, Salem (Congregational) 1849, Bartle Hill (Wesleyan) 1849, Enon (Baptist) 1851, Curzon Street (Wesleyan Reformers) 1851, Jireh (Baptist) 1853.

SUMMARY.

Religious bodies were the most powerful force in the struggle against evil and did more than anything else to raise the moral tone of the people. The enthusiasm of members of churches and chapels merits the highest praise and admiration and the large number of places of worship is a testimony to their keenness. From the minute books of wardens, stewards and secretaries one may realise the great amount of self-sacrifice that was entailed in regularly speaking, singing and praying at open-air meetings and in cottages, in voluntary work of sick-visiting, and in the self-imposed task of Sunday school teaching. Their strong devotion to the Christian Faith is seen in the arrangements for holding on one occasion a day of fasting, followed by a day of prayer and service with four meetings beginning at 4-30 a.m., 6-30 a.m. (sacrament), 12-30 p.m. and 7-30 p.m., and a sacramental service at 6 a.m. on the next morning. Nor should we forget the voluntary work of local preachers; often they were ill-educated but their appeal to an ill-educated congregation was sometimes all the stronger for that reason. Pulpit oratory, inspired with religious fervour, helped to counteract the impassioned speeches of political and social agitators and led Burnley people in general to accept the more compassionate view of life. Undoubtedly there was a rivalry between the various religious sects but that rivalry caused each church and chapel to increase its efforts to extend its work and win more converts.

CHAPTER XIII.

Education, 1750-1850.

In the 18th century the only school of any importance in Burnley was the Grammar School. This school catered for the needs of the sons of wealthy farmers, professional men and gentry, providing a limited education which enabled them to enter a university or take up a professional career. The mass of the people remained illiterate and without the ability to read or even write their names. A few children, however, acquired the art of reading and writing at a "dame's school" and a smaller number were fortunate enough to learn from philanthropists.

At the end of the century, the first Sunday schools in Burnley were established to teach reading, writing and religion. The importance of this movement in the education of the people has often been underestimated for it made possible the reading of the new political newspapers which so many radical leaders advised; it gave a chance to children of poor parents to rise above the common level, and not a few of Burnley's leaders in the mid-19th century began their education in the Sunday schools.

In 1828 the first voluntary day school was opened and by 1851 there were no fewer than nine such schools. Parents willingly paid the weekly fees that their children might receive the advantages of an education which they themselves lacked. This period of the second quarter of the 19th century covered a nation-wide educational activity. Henry Brougham's Bill of 1820 to build rate-aided schools was withdrawn, but the Parliament of 1833 voted a sum of £20,000 to "The National Society" and "The British and Foreign School Society" "for the erection of school houses for the education of the children of the poorer classes in Great Britain;" in 1839 the grant was increased to £30,000 a year (less than half the amount expended on the building of new stables at a royal palace) and two inspectors were appointed to watch over all the schools in England. It was the age of "The Popular Educator," "Chambers Journal" and other cheap weekly educational papers which gave their readers lessons in grammar, arithmetic, geometry, science, botany, geology, health, lives of great men, and other subjects of interest and value. London University was founded with powers to confer degrees without residence at a university. This phase in the history of education is seen

in Burnley in the establishment of the Mechanics' Institute and Church Institute, Mutual Improvement Societies, and societies to encourage a love of music.

Years were to elapse before elementary education became compulsory and many more before a complete system of education was introduced.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.⁽¹⁾

The Grammar School was situated on Bank Parade, almost opposite the present school. In the 18th century the parish provided the cost of maintaining the fabric and governors controlled the appointment of headmasters and the administration of the school endowments.

GOVERNORS AND ENDOWMENTS.

The Governors of 1752 were Robert Parker of Extwistle and Cuerden, Thomas Townley and Edmund Townley of Royle, Charles Halstead of Rowley and the Reverend Turner Standish, incumbent of St. Peter's: all, except the last mentioned, were members of families that had been connected with the governing body of the school for a century. By 1787 the only surviving trustee was Edmund Townley and he coopted Banaster Parker of Extwistle and Cuerden, and his brother, Thomas Townley Parker of Royle, Robert Holden of Palace House, the Rev. Dr. Thomas Dunham Whitaker of Holme, and the Rev. John Hargreaves of Fulfilledge and later of Bank Hall. In 1813 the Governors were Robert Townley Parker, the Rev. Dr. T. D. Whitaker, John Hargreaves and his nephew James Hargreaves of Ormerod House, Lawrence Halstead of Hood House, and John Greenwood of Palace House. On account of deaths, new appointments were necessary in 1834. The changing character of the town is noticeable in the appointments of William Dugdale of Lowerhouse, calico printer, Holden Hammerton of Hollins, solicitor, and George Holgate, merchant; the other Governors were Robert Townley Parker, the Rev. William Thursby of Ormerod House, the Rev. R. Mosley Master, and Thomas Hordern Whitaker of Holme. By 1860 Robert Townley Parker and the Rev. R. M. Master had become ineligible to serve because they had lived for more than a year outside the chapelry, Holden Hammerton had emigrated to New Zealand, and others were dead or unwilling to serve.

1. This section is based on Grammar School deeds and papers and on Mr. T. T. Wilkinson's "History of the Grammar School" 1870 in Transactions of Hist. Soc. of Lancs. and Ches. Vol. 22 p. 19.

The Rev. W. Thursby and T. H. Whitaker therefore coopted Sir James Yorke Scarlett, K.C.B., Sir James Phillips Kay Shuttleworth, the Rev. Arthur Townley Parker, and James Roberts of Tarleton House.

The close connection between the parish and the Grammar School ceased about the end of the 18th century so that, for the future, the Governors were responsible for the upkeep of the school buildings. Unfortunately, the buildings were very inconvenient and had become dilapidated, but the income from the endowments was not sufficient to pay salaries and at the same time make extensive alterations to the school fabric.

The Report of the Charity commissioners in 1825 listed the property of the school as follows:—

1. A cottage in Burnley and dwelling house. (This was the White House near the Hall Inn and opposite the bottom of Yorkshire Street. It had a garden stretching down to the Brun).
2. Another cottage, barn and garden. (This was at the bottom of Hall street. The barn was part of a 16th century farmstead. The whole of the property was demolished about 1840 and on its site, Dixon's mill was built; part of the garden was added to the stable yard of the Hall Inn).
3. A field in Burnley Lane (mod. Colne Road) divided by the Turnpike Road, containing 2a. 1r. (It is now occupied by Hall Well Street, Butler Street, Allen Street and Lee Street).
4. An estate at Alverthorpe near Wakefield containing 6a. 3r. let at £44 a year.
5. The Ridge Farm of 11 acres 2 roods leased for £30 a year to John Lee, innkeeper.
6. Cockridge Farm (Boulsworth) with 8 acres.

The whole income from the above endowments in 1825 was £137 16s. 0d., and out of this sum, all expenses of the school had to met. It will be noticed that several endowments had been lost.

To meet their financial difficulties, the Governors determined in 1849 to sell the land at Alverthorpe and therefore instructed Messrs. Alexander (of Halifax) and Hammerton (the Governors' Law Clerk of Burnley), solicitors, to arrange

for a petition to the Court of Chancery to acquire the right to sell, exchange, of lease certain parts of the school endowments. The request was granted, and, at the same time, the Court permitted the Governors to raise "The sum of £1,000 for the erection of a boarding house for the headmaster." This was also to serve as a school boarding-house.

Alverthorpe lands were sold in 1850 for £78 but the whole of this money was used in paying the Attorney-General's bill of costs which had been incurred during the Chancery proceedings. More worry for the Governors came when Messrs. Alexander and Hammerton sent in their bill for £200, though they did agree to take annual instalments of £40 with interest. To add to the troubles, Holden Hammerton, the law clerk and governor, emigrated to New Zealand without resigning his offices: more expensive legal proceedings were therefore necessary in order to appoint new trustees and to vest in them the property of the school. To meet these additional costs, the White House and the property in Hall Street were sold to Charles Towneley and Henry Dixon. Fortunately, the value of the land that still remained with the Governors increased and in 1862 the total income was £276 and by 1870 had reached nearly £300. The increase was due to the use of the land as building sites.

It was obviously impossible to erect a school or a boarding-house out of such a small income and at the same time meet the cost of staffing the school. The only alternative, without selling more land, was to solicit public subscriptions. Already in 1845, Miss Halstead of Hood House had collected £140, with which the school was repaired and refitted with desks. The success of that appeal probably encouraged the Governors to embark on a much more ambitious scheme. In 1855 it was proposed to erect houses for the Headmaster and Assistant Masters, two schools and playgrounds, and to meet the cost of £5,300, the old school was to be sold for £700 and subscriptions were to be invited to raise £4,600. The scheme was abandoned as too expensive, and proposals were next made to collect and spend £2,000 on the improvement of the old school buildings. £900 was promised but the project went no further.

Meanwhile the old school building was getting more and more dilapidated, and no money was available to carry out repairs. One of the Charity Commissioners described the school as "the wretched building in which classes are taught, and which is alone sufficient to dishearten masters and boys," while Mr. T. T. Wilkinson publicly stated that the building, "whose windows were stuffed with rags and paper," was a

disgrace to the town. Eventually, in 1873, the Town Council shared with the Governors the responsibility of maintaining the Grammar School, more money became available, and the present school was erected in 1874.

HEADMASTERS.

Halliwell 1761-1796. The Reverend William Halliwell was appointed Headmaster on the death of Mr. Ellis Nutter. As a priest in Holy Orders, he preached in St. Peter's and officiated at baptismal and burial services. He became the Curate of Holme in 1763 and held both his headmastership and curacy until his death in 1796.

Raws. 1797-1834. The life of the Reverend John Raws, Curate of St. Peter's and Headmaster of the Grammar School has already been given in Chapter XII. Practically nothing is known of his work in the School except that he inspired the future Canon Raines with a love for antiquity and the Classics. At the beginning of his headmastership, there were 60 boys and girls in attendance.

Allen 1834-1838. The Reverend Samuel James Allen, M.A. was a Londoner by birth and took his degrees at Cambridge. He published his Lectures on the Church of England, which he delivered at the University of Cambridge, collected but did not publish a great deal of material for a book on Church Antiquities, and assisted Baines in his History of Lancashire. After leaving Burnley, Mr. Allen retired to Easingwold, of which parish he had previously been rector. He died in 1856, aged 58.

Highmore 1838-1842. The Reverend Frederick Nathaniel Highmore, M.A., was not a headmaster sufficiently long to influence the School. Judging from notes written by P. G. Hamerton, Mr. Highmore did not understand those whom he had to teach: "he was hard and sometimes even brutal" and "Mr. Highmore's nature was not sympathetic enough."

Butler 1842-1847. The Reverend Dr. James Butler, M.A., D.C.L. came from St. Peter's School, York, and was a great contrast to his predecessor. Kind, lenient and sympathetic, he always retained the affection of his pupils and "excelled as a civilizing influence." He took classes at Church Institute, joined the educational societies, and supported every movement for the betterment of the people of Burnley.

Dr. Butler had a desk specially constructed to resemble a pulpit ornamented with two carved crockets; the assistant

master's desk was destitute of ornament. A master's desk at present in the School seems to be the one that was originally built for Dr. Butler about 1844.

The following served as assistants under Dr. Butler: T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S. (Mathematics and Geology), Thomas Coates, Rev. Edwin Appleyard, B.A. (Mathematics), James Tennant Bland, W. Gilmore, T. W. Shore (Science and Art), H. P. Meadon (Natural Philosophy),—Gunn (Chemistry),—Hale (Art),—Gahegan (Drill).

Mr. T. T. Wilkinson was a really brilliant scholar, but as he did not possess a University degree he always imagined that local people did not appreciate his scholarship. As a teacher he was concise and clear. He taught Mathematics, but he was an authority on geology, local history, and antiquities, on which subjects he contributed many papers to important educational journals. He wrote a great deal on local affairs, published a History of the Parish Church, and papers on Old Mansions around Burnley, and on the Grammar School; his scientific papers include the History of English Mathematical Periodicals, in the *Mechanics Magazine* 1848-53; essays on "Bisectant Axes," "Circles of Tangential Ratio," "Similar Conics," etc. in the Appendices to *The Lady's and Gentleman's Diary*; an article on "English Mathematical Literature" in the *Westminster Review*; and "The Lancashire Geometers" in *Manchester Memoirs*; etc. He was also joint-author of "Lancashire Folklore." He was a chairman of the Finance Committee under the Burnley Commissioners and was made an Alderman under the Borough Council; in politics, he was a Liberal. He was sturdily independent and jealous of influence and consistently refused to associate himself with any scheme that was not altogether for the good of the town.

Dr. Butler and Mr. Wilkinson made an innovation which could not have been very popular with the boys. They decided that one hour's work should be done every evening during holidays and that "a searching examination" in ten subjects should be given at the beginning of the new term to test the holiday work. The lists of the results were sent to the parents, after which it was reported "Eminent success has attended the experiment."

FEES, NUMBERS AND SUBJECTS.

In 1797, the annual fees for each scholar were £2 2s. 0d. and there were 60 boys and girls in attendance. The subjects were English, Grammar, Writing, Accounts, and Practical Mathematics; some 10 or 12 were instructed in Classics.

In 1844 there were only 27 in attendance and this number reached only 53 in 1871; throughout the period 1844-1871, 475 pupils attended the school. The fees were £4 4s. 0d. a year for boys under ten and £6 6s. 0d. for boys over ten years of age. In 1868 some 51 boys were in attendance of whom 25 took Latin and five took Greek; the others took only English subjects, but a visiting master gave a weekly lecture in Chemistry and Natural Philosophy. French might be taken for an extra 10s. 6d. a quarter.

An official report on the school in 1868 stated that the boys were "rough" and "belonged to the lower middle class" and entered the Grammar School "in an imperfect state of Education." "Burnley is one of the newest and roughest of manufacturing towns. The rich people send their children to schools at a distance; and the bulk of the middle class withdraw theirs from school at fourteen or as soon as they can write clearly and cipher easily. In such a place very little store is set upon learning or culture; classics excite hostility, and although the value of Mathematics and Natural Science (more particularly Chemistry and Geology) will in time be appreciated by a population engaged in manufacturing pursuits, it would at present be regarded with indifference. The Headmaster desires to see a boarding house established thinking that the presence of boarders would temper the roughness of the town boys, and attract a greater number of the sons of richer people as day scholars. A manufacturing town, however, is not the place where a boarding school is likely to succeed... There is a considerable feeling for the Grammar School in the town; and if it were understood that the school would give a sound commercial education, teaching Latin, but not making it compulsory, an attendance of 150 boys and upwards might be counted on."

OLD BOYS.

The fame of the Reverend Henry Halliwell has given him a place in the Dictionary of National Biography. He was the son of the Headmaster, the Rev. William Halliwell, and after attending the Grammar School entered Brasenose College, Oxford, where he graduated as B.A. in 1783, M.A. in 1789, and B.D. in 1803. In 1790 he was made a Fellow of his College and later Dean and Lecturer in Hebrew. His claim to fame lies in his work as a translator of the Classics. At Oxford he was known as "Dr. Toe," from some peculiarity in his walk. In 1803 he resigned his appointments at Oxford and became the Rector of a church in Sussex. There he was described as "a hospitable parish priest of the old High Church type." He died in 1835 at the age of 70 years.

Francis Robert Raines came to Burnley as an apprentice to a local chemist but hoped to enter the medical profession. Since his education was far from complete, arrangements were made for him to attend the Grammar School, where for four years 1818-1824 under Mr. Raws he acquired a love for the Classics. Soon his whole interest was in religion and in antiquarian research. He entered the Church and proceeded to Cambridge University. His career in the Church was distinguished and he became a Canon, but he is best known for his work in local history. He wrote and edited many valuable works for the Chetham Society, and collected about 50 volumes of Lancashire MSS. which are now in the Chetham Library. Such work has made him nationally famous.

Philip G. Hamerton resided at the Hollins and attended the Grammar School during the periods 1839-45 and 1849-50. Dr. Butler encouraged the boy's natural love for literature and for writing, and soon he was producing some excellent work. Three years after leaving the School, Hamerton wrote leading articles for the *Burnley Mentor*. He loved making model-boats and sailed a large one of his own manufacture on Foulridge Reservoir; he also bribed Jim Radcliffe to let him ride on the footplate of the engine that drew the Burnley to Todmorden train. Camping was also one of his pleasures for it gave him opportunities for reflection and for practising the art of painting. He began to concentrate on art and literature and won a national reputation in those pursuits. His books of poems, "*The Isles of Loch Awe*" and "*The Painter's Camp*" were well received as was also a book on "*Heraldry*." His foundation and management of "*The Portfolio*" and his contributions as art critic to the *Saturday Review*, *The Globe*, and the *Pall Mall Gazette* gave him recognition as a leader of 19th century art circles.

John Wareing Bardsley, son of a curate of Burnley, spent five years, 1843-48, at the Grammar School. In 1887 he became Bishop of Sodor and Man, and in 1891 Bishop of Carlisle. As a boy in Burnley, he lived in one of the two Gothic houses in Church Street.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

The term "Private School" covered many types of educational establishments that ranged from "*The Dame's School*" to "*The Commercial and Mathematical Academy*." A Dame's School was usually kept by an old lady who taught only the elements of reading and writing; her fees were very small and teaching was often only carried on during the

intervals taken from household duties. The chief representative schools of this type in Burnley were kept by Mrs. Healey of St. James' Street, who also taught knitting (1787), Molly Riding of Riding Brow, Wapping, (about 1800), Harriet Bamford and Isabel Stott, who eked out a living by selling needles, tapes and thread (1840), Dame Wilson of Brick Street (1839), and Miss Seward, who kept a school in a cellar dwelling in Fountain Street (1839).

A little higher in the educational grade were the "Ladies' Day and Boarding Schools" where deportment and "genteel" accomplishments were taught as well as a certain amount of reading, writing, arithmetic and scripture. Such were the "Ladies' Seminaries" of Miss Agnes Farrer of Manchester Road (1818), Miss Margaret Wetherhead of Wood Street, Habergham Eaves, who may have been a near relative of the Curate of Holme (1824), the Misses Francis and Ann Currer of South Parade (1824), the Misses Elizabeth and Ann Ward of Bank Parade (1851), Miss Rachel Willis of South Parade (1851), and Miss Morine of Well House, daughter of the organist (1853). The mother of Miss Morine kept a small school and wool-shop. A co-educational school was kept by John and Mary Carter in St. James' Row (1824).

Some private schools were kept by men and here the teaching was doubtless on better lines. The earliest appears to have been kept by a rather eccentric Mr. Cooper about 1800, who erected a dismal building, known as "The Bastile," on the Canal bank at Lane Bridge; here the headmaster, who lived in what is now the Ship Inn, installed a pipe-organ and appointed Mr. T. Healey, Burnley's leading musician, as organist and assistant master. Mr. Kneeshaw states⁽²⁾ that Mr. Healey had previously taken charge of his mother's school, and, after a short period of service at a shoemaker's bench, once more took up the teaching career at the "Bastile;" he later opened a school "at the Waterwheel, near Cow Lane," migrated to a school at Rochdale in 1820, and finally in 1826 took over a private school at Goodshaw, within convenient distance of his musical societies in Burnley. Other schools were kept about the same time by Benjamin Baldwin in Bethesda Street, John Nuttall in Curzon Street, and the Reverend Henry Astin at Ebenezer; the last mentioned may have been a day school held in connection with the chapel.

Better and more important private schools were started after 1840. Mr. Carus, the late headmaster of St. Peter's National School, opened a school at the top of Finsleygate in

2. Kneeshaw — Burnley in the 19th Century p. 103.

1841 and was soon able to take more convenient premises at the Temperance Hall (later "Cheap John's") in Hammerton Street; the headmaster, in spite of his love of intoxicants, was regarded as a good teacher and was able to charge 3d. a week as fees. At the same time Mr. W. Sunderland held a private school in the Sunday School premises at Mount Pleasant and was able to charge 10d. a week; by 1851 he had transferred his school to the Sion School in Yorkshire Street. George Hargreaves, who excelled as a writing master, kept a school in Croft Street in 1839; by 1851 he had joined Joseph Hargreaves in Hammerton Street. T. B. Spencer, a mill worker, opened a school under a joiner's shop and then under Enon Chapel; he gave up the school to become the first editor of "The Burnley Advertiser" in 1852. Little is known about schools kept by—Massey in Red Lion Street in 1847 and William Kenyon in Coke Street in 1851.

A most ambitious but unsuccessful venture was started by Mr. T. T. Wilkinson when he opened in 1853 his "Commercial and Mathematical School" at Mount Pleasant.⁽³⁾ His fees were much higher than at any other private school,—12s. 6d. a quarter for reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography, and other usual subjects; 15s. with the additional subjects of bookkeeping, mensuration, algebra and geometry; 21s. a quarter with the further additional subjects of differential calculus and mechanics. When the school failed, Mr. Wilkinson resumed his position at the Grammar School.

There is little doubt that the most successful private school ever carried on in Burnley was that of Mr. William Milner Grant. It was held in Carlton Road for a period of 27 years 1861-1888 and is therefore outside the period covered by this book. Here, however, an appreciation by Mr. Kneeshaw may be quoted: "For 27 years he was a prominent figure in local education, and his great ability as a teacher, his devotion to his profession, his lofty ideal, his unflinching courage, his bitter contempt for anything low and mean, his unfailing kindness, and his stern justice, left on many generations of pupils an impression that will not soon die. Which of them, who heard his bitter "Jezebel-like" or "Ahab-like" ever forgot it? Still less were they likely to forget being found in a lie or any low action. But hearts beat high, and faces glowed, at his words of praise, "a pattern to be copied."

Private lessons could also be obtained in Burnley. Monsieur Hallen 1850-54 was prepared to coach in French and German and William Palmer of South Parade 1824 was ready

3. Advertisement in the Burnley
"Mentor."

to help with drawing lessons including mechanical drawing. Henry Palmer, who lived near Towneley Lodge, in 1824 also gave lessons in drawing.

The early training⁽⁴⁾ of Alderman George Keighley, who was born in 1831 and died in 1901, throws some light on the irregular system of education in Burnley. The father worked at Brennand's Mill and was very anxious that his son should have a knowledge of reading and writing. The boy was first sent to a dame's school, kept by Ann Kay in Whitam's Cottages near Brennand Street in Briercliffe Road. Then he attended for a few weeks the National School under Mr. Carus and afterwards passed on to the Wesleyan School at Keighley Green. A month or two later he joined Mr. Carus' new school at Finsleygate and went with it to Hammerton Street; shortly afterwards he completed the first stage of his education at Mr. Sunderland's school at Mount Pleasant. He began work at the age of 11 in 1842, so that in three or at most four years he had attended no fewer than five different schools.

After leaving school George Keighley realised the need for a knowledge of mechanical drawing and a wider knowledge of mathematics; his employer, George Holgate of Finsley Mill, paid for his drawing lessons with Henry Palmer but the boy acquired the necessary knowledge of mathematics by his own exertions. At the age of 15 he became an evening teacher in a school that had been opened behind the St. Leger Inn in Red Lion Street; the master, Mr. Massey, a former block-printer from Clitheroe, paid him 9d. a night for his assistance in the school and agreed to give him an occasional one hour's private tuition "in certain subjects."

SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

Teaching in Sunday schools was carried on under great difficulties. Discipline was always a serious problem which was aggravated by the lack of equipment and suitable premises; in addition both paid and unpaid teachers were quite untrained for the work. Teachers often tried to preserve order by shaming unruly pupils who were forced to carry cards showing their particular offence,—“Talkative,” “Swearer,” “Sabbath-breaker.”⁽⁵⁾ sometimes corporal punishment was administered surreptitiously. Children were graded according to age and sex. The youngest were put into the “ABC Class,” sometimes called “The reading-made-easy-class” where the alphabet and the simplest words were learnt; afterwards,

4. Allen—*Life of George Keighley.*

5. Handbook, “History of Brunswick Church and Sunday School.”

they learned the art of writing by making letters with a stick in a shallow tray filled with sand. Bible stories were told, the Commandments and Christian principles were taught, and every effort was made to bring about a desire for self-improvement. Throughout the schools, the Bible was the chief reading book. After 1830 superintendents began to conduct their schools on a more regular system. Hymns were sung by the whole assembly, prayers were said, and then the children went for the "lesson," which might consist of learning the alphabet or reading the bible followed by a talk; after the lesson, a hymn and prayer closed the school session.

In some schools, writing masters were employed. At Ebenezer, for example, it was decided that "Thomas Booth and J. Greenwood be appointed teachers of writing, and that they have sole management and control of that department, and that the time for writing be from 9-15 to 10-15 on Sunday morning."⁽⁶⁾ Such was not always the case with other schools, where it was contended that to teach the art of writing was a secular duty to be carried out on a weekday lest there should be a breach of the fourth commandment. Consequently, boys assembled on Saturdays and girls on Mondays to receive instruction in writing.⁽⁷⁾

DAY SCHOOLS.

The problem of providing children with an elementary education at a cheap rate on weekdays was first attacked by a Quaker named Joseph Lancaster. He opened a school in London on a non-sectarian basis and solved the difficulty of expense by the "monitorial system,"—that is, the daily lessons which he gave early in the morning to a small class were handed on by its members to other classes during the day; Lancaster once boasted that he could "teach" 1,000 children at once. "The Royal Lancasterian Society" was established in 1808 and many schools were built. They were so successful that "The British and Foreign Schools Society" was founded in 1814 to support them and soon all nonconformist day schools became known as "British Schools." Meanwhile, in 1811, Dr. Andrew Bell had founded "The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church throughout England and Wales." This Society encouraged the building of "National Schools," which were conducted on the same lines as the Lancasterian or British Schools but had the additional aim of teaching the faith of the Established Church.

6. Kneeshaw—Burnley in the 19th Century p. 103.

7. Moore—History of Wesleyan Methodism pp. 115-116.

Each school, whether "National" or "British" depended for its maintenance on very low fees from the pupils and on collections made in the church or chapel and on voluntary contributions. The Government made annual grants from 1833 onwards and in 1846 tackled the difficult question of staffing schools. A scheme was inaugurated for making special grants to those schools which would train "pupil-teachers."

The first day school in Burnley was St. Peter's National School, which was opened in 1828. It owes its early existence to the enthusiasm of the Reverend Mosley Master for the good of his parish. Fees of 1d. a week, and collections in the Church were sufficient to pay for the upkeep of the school and the salaries of the teachers. Mr. T. Carus, the parish clerk, was made headmaster of the new school and under him, in 1836, there were 550 scholars in attendance, "a larger number than in any other National School in the kingdom."⁽⁸⁾ A writing master, John Heap, landlord of the Lord Nelson (now the White Hart), was employed and he was assisted by another man who made and repaired the quill pens used by the children. Mr. Carus had only one eye and was unfortunately too fond of gin. When he left in 1839, Mr. Waddington succeeded to the post of headmaster and remained until 1841 when Mr. William Milner Grant took charge. By that date, for some unexplained reason, there were only 52 in attendance, of whom two paid 2d. a week and the rest 1d. Mr. Grant's work at St. Peter's School has perhaps been overshadowed by his great success at his own private school in Carlton Road, but he built up at his former school a great reputation as a great headmaster; when he left in 1861 on account of failing health his scholars subscribed towards the erection of his new school. At his death in 1888, his old pupils from St. Peter's and from Carlton Road commemorated his work for education by endowing a scholarship at the Grammar School.

Soon after the erection of St. Peter's National School, members of the Established Church began to subscribe towards the building of other schools:—Back Lane 1834, Lane Head 1835, Trinity 1839, St. James' 1839, All Saints' 1840, and St. Paul's 1848.

Nonconformist schools in 1852 were the British School at Bethesda (headmaster,—William M'Leish), the Wesleyan School in Red Lion Street (headmaster,—J. H. Murray), and Sion School (headmaster,—W. Sunderland).

The Wesleyan day school had really begun in 1835 and a school building had been erected on the site of the Drill

Hall in Keighley Green. Fees were then 1½d. a week for each boy or girl and 2d. a week for each infant; in 1842 the number in attendance was 395. The Red Lion Street Schools were opened in 1852 with 344 children on the registers.⁽⁹⁾

A Roman Catholic Sunday School existed near Burnley Wood Chapel in 1817 but there seems to be no certain proof that it served as a day school before 1846. About that time, the headmasters were Mr. Edward Walden and Mr. Simon Brown. The Towneleys were mainly responsible for its maintenance and paid the salaries of the teachers. School children contributed weekly a 1d. each as school-pence. In 1849 the school became a Catholic Infants' School and the boys were first transferred to a building in Red Lion Street and then to the Temperance Hall in Hammerton Street. When the school was opened in Hammerton Street, a bitter controversy arose in the Press and pulpit over a poster which invited children of all denominations to attend. The Reverend J. Bardsley was the chief Protestant protagonist. Schools were later built near St. Mary's Church.

EDUCATIONAL SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

The present "Mechanics' Institute" arose out of a suggestion and later discussion between three men, Thomas Booth, William Wood, and Joseph Leeming, all workers at Marsland's Foundry, about the possibility of establishing in Burnley a small public library. Thomas Booth lived near Ebenezer Chapel and was a writing master in the Sunday School; he was evidently a philanthopist with progressive ideas. The three men invited others to a meeting and there in 1834 they decided to form a library club open to the public for a small subscription "to facilitate and promote the diffusion of general knowledge among the operative mechanics and other inhabitants of Burnley and its neighbourhood." The library was to consist of useful books on arts and sciences, philosophy, history, voyages, travels, and general literature, but no novels, plays, deistical or atheistical works or polemical divinity.

A house in the Meadows was first taken and when that proved too small a larger room near the Swan Inn (now Eastwood's Office) was leased and here it remained until 1842. The scheme now developed far beyond the expectations of the original promoters. Larger rooms were taken in Chancery Street and steps were taken to form an Institution which should be recognised as a "Friendly Society."⁽¹⁰⁾ Such recognition was given on November 9th 1843 and the Justices of the

9. Moore—Hist. of Wes. Meth. pp. 118 and 127.

10. Preston. County Record Office DDS 8-1.

Peace accepted the rules of "The Burnley Mechanics' Institution" on January 3rd 1844. At that time there were 700 volumes in the Library and classes were held in Mathematics, Grammar, and Music; it was hoped to begin other classes in Mechanical Drawing, Practical Mathematics, and Chemistry, and to buy "Philosophical Instruments and Works of Art and Nature." In addition a number of popular lectures were given.

The subscriptions were as follows:—For the Library,—6s. 6d. a year (1½d. a week); for the Lectures,—6s. 6d. a year; for full membership of both Library and Lectures,—10s. a year: life membership of either Library or Lectures,—5 guineas; life membership of both Library and Lectures,—10 guineas.

The officials were:—President,—Charles Towneley; Vice-President,—Thomas Chaffer; Directors,—T. T. Wilkinson (chairman) and James Smith (vice-chairman); Secretary,—J. Sutherland (the Burnley postmaster); Treasurer,—William Wood (founder in 1834); Librarian,—Richard Charles: there were 12 others on the Committee including Dr. George Smirthwaite, Benjamin Bell and Miles Veevers.

From Chancery Street, the Institution moved to St. James' Row and then to the "Liverpool House" in St. James' Street. The foundation stone of the present building was laid on November 25th 1851 by the President, Colonel Charles Towneley, in the presence of a distinguished company. The building was opened on July 21st 1855.

"The Mechanics'" was generally regarded as non-conformist and liberal in tone, and some leading inhabitants of the town about 1865 viewed with dismay the election of "radical upstarts" to the Committee. This feeling began to die down as the educational work of the Institute expanded and improved. After 1870 its evening science classes made it one of the most important centres of adult education in Lancashire.

"The Church Institute" owes its origin in 1848 to a desire of churchmen for a society or club that should be closely connected with, and supported by, members of the Established Church.⁽¹¹⁾ They were particularly influenced by the success of the Mechanics' and the growing strength of Catholicism. Consequently, after a lecture by the Reverend J. Bardsley on his visit to the Continent, it was decided to form "The Church of England Literary Institution" where popular lectures should

11. Kneeshaw—Burnley in the 19th Century p. 121.

be given and educational classes should be held. The first meetings were held in Pickup Croft in January 1848 and continued there until 1850 when the Church Literary Institute in Manchester Road was opened. The library of Mr. W. Greenwood of Well Hall was presented to the Institute and formed a basis for a large collection of books. Classes were held in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Grammar (Mr. Grant), Latin and French (Dr. Butler), Biblical Literature (Dr. Verity), Singing and Drawing. Some really good work was done and great success attended the classes. The leaders were the Reverends W. Thursby, R. M. Master, J. Bardsley; Colonel Scarlett, Dr. White, Dr. J. Sutcliffe, and Dr. Butler. Canon Parker succeeded the Venerable Archdeacon Mosley Master as President.

According to Mr. Kneeshaw,⁽¹²⁾ one of Burnley's earliest societies for the mutual improvement of its members was "A Society for promoting mutual instruction." "The members were S. E. White, J. Holgate, G. Holgate, jun., T. Ward, J. Heelis, W. Roberts, W. M. Coultate, J. H. Scott, W. Corless, T. Grimshaw, J. Hargreaves, J. Holgate, jun., and J. Leeming. A number of strict rules was drawn up, and a list of fines for absence, being late, leaving soon, not speaking in turn, was enforced. Each week a subject for debate was propounded, each member being bound under a fine to take his turn. The first meeting was held on September 29th 1831, when the question was propounded "whether ambition or the desire for riches has more influence over mankind?" The Society lasted continuously until October 1834, when it dissolved. It was resuscitated for a year in 1836, when in addition to the foregoing the following were members: J. Brennand, B. Chaffer, J. Marsland, J. Roberts, and others."

LIBRARIES, BOOKS, AND NEWSPAPERS.

The Mechanics' Library catered for some sections of the reading public. It was not the first library in the town, for in 1824 Tabitha Akroyd of Yorkshire Street had a subscription library and Walker Gilbertson of St. James' Street kept a circulating library. In 1853 James Simpson of Manchester Road had 2,000 volumes in his circulating library; he was a hairdresser as well as a shopkeeper, selling umbrellas, toys, jewellery, cutlery and braces.⁽¹³⁾

12. *Ibid.* p. 113.

13. Advertisement in the Burnley
"Mentor."

The earliest book known to have been printed in Burnley contained the Rules of a Colne Friendly Society; it was printed by Henry Spencer in 1781.⁽¹⁴⁾ T. Thornton printed in 1798 a very large book of 1178 pages entitled "Burkett's Expository Notes on the New Testament." "Hymns and Psalms for Public Worship in Burnley Church" were printed at various times between 1806 and 1829 by T. Thornton, T. Sutcliffe, and Walker Gilbertson.⁽¹⁵⁾

The first Burnley journal was "The Cottager's Magazine" also printed by W. Gilbertson. In 1846 the "Burnley Bee" made its first appearance and was printed by Messrs. Lupton and Dewhurst.⁽¹⁶⁾ It was issued at a 1d. and contained articles on literature and general knowledge; it made a vigorous defence of the Ten Hours Bill, which was supported by members of the Church. The history of the more important "Burnley Advertiser," first published in 1852, lies outside the period covered by this chapter.

14. Kneeshaw—Hist. of B. in the 19th Cent. p. 117.

15. Copies in the Central Library, Burnley.

16. Kneeshaw—Hist. of B. in the 19th Cen' p. 117.

CHAPTER XIV.

Local Government, 1750-1850.

As the population of Burnley increased and its industries expanded, it became necessary to make radical changes in the system under which the people of Burnley had been governed since Tudor and Stuart times. The subject of local government is exceptionally complicated since the changes were made gradually and in a somewhat piecemeal fashion, new methods were superimposed on old systems, and there was considerable overlapping and friction between the old authorities, which clung tenaciously to their ancient rights and functions, and the new authorities, which desired full powers over everything and everybody that came within their sphere.

THE SYSTEM 1750-1846.

Burnley Parish consisted of four townships,—Burnley, Habergham Eaves, Cliviger, and Briercliffe with Worsthorne. (The position of Reedley Hallows, Ightenhill, and Little Marsden, with regard to the Parish, needs special discussion). Both the parish and the individual townships were units of local government. Each township elected a churchwarden, and the four churchwardens, thus appointed, controlled the parish as a whole. The main duties of the wardens were concerned with matters affecting St. Peter's, such as repairs and replacements, provision for burials, sexton's clothes, preachers, and rush-hearings; they also made fitting arrangements for local celebrations on days of national rejoicing. In the township, each warden tried to enforce the observance of the Sabbath. To cover all expenses incurred in the affairs of the parish as a whole, the wardens levied "church rates" which were collected by the wardens in their own townships. From the income derived from these rates, the wardens paid the cost of repairs to the Parish Church and the Grammar School, the salaries of parish clerk and sexton, the expenses of visiting preachers, and purchased everything that was necessary for the conduct of church services, burials, etc., and provided what they thought was suitable for a fitting observance of national holidays and other festive occasions.

Each separate township in the parish was legally responsible for the maintenance of its own poor, the preservation of order, lighting and the repair of the roads. For this purpose, the ratepayers in each township met annually at Easter and appointed two overseers of the poor, a constable, a surveyor, and a committee, known as "The Vestry" to co-

ordinate the work of the officials and supervise the general management of the township. The committee was empowered to levy rates in order to carry out the work of local government. Meetings of the Burnley Vestry were officially held at St. Peter's but the members usually sought the comfort of the Sun Inn, Bridge Street, until June 1819 when they transferred their custom and deliberations to the Swan Inn.⁽¹⁾

Although each township was legally responsible for the proper conduct of its own affairs, the townships of Burnley and Habergham Eaves decided about 1740 "to be connected together for the maintenance and management of the poor and other affairs." The system worked well until 1796 when they quarrelled about the assessments of property in the townships. Each side appointed two advocates who placed the dispute before an arbitrator; that particular quarrel was settled but after 1796, each township conducted its own government.⁽²⁾

Churchwardens, Vestries, and all officials of the townships were subject to the over-riding authority of the Court of Quarter Sessions, but the Justices there assembled, usually, though not always, accepted in case of dispute the guidance and advice of those Justices who lived in or near the parish and knew intimately the local conditions. The local justices such as George Halstead, John Hargreaves, Piers Starkie, John Haydock, Thomas Veevers, Thomas Parker, T. H. Whitaker, exercised a very great influence over the affairs of the parish and its townships; they held their Private and Petty Sessions, examined accused persons, took depositions, signed warrants, checked parish and township expenses, gave decisions in disputes between overseers and applicants for relief, paid allowances to the wives of soldiers and sailors, and assumed full responsibility in times of riots and other emergencies.

THE BURNLEY VESTRY MEETINGS.

On April 4th 1815 ratepayers in the township of Burnley elected Henry Riley, shoemaker, and Miles Veevers, landlord of the Sun Inn, to act as overseers, and Joseph Wood as constable; the elected Vestry was composed of Webster Fishwick, tanner, Joseph Massey, sen., woollen manufacturer, Miles Veevers, Robert Munn, grocer and draper of St. James' Street, Christopher Cook, gentleman, of Turf Moor Place, and

1. The early government by the Vestry is based on the parish records, which are preserved at St. Peter's. Where necessary, other sources of information are indicated.

2. MSS. at the Central Library.

Theodore Heelis, retired woollen manufacturer, of Brown Hill, any three of whom made a quorum at a regular meeting. In addition, William Crook, John Spencer, and John Roberts, all cotton manufacturers, James Fishwick, James Massey, and Edward Lovatt, the Towneley steward, were to be co-opted if necessary. Weekly meetings were held during the year but only routine matters were considered.

The Vestry of 1816 made two decisions of great interest. On April 11th, the Vestry, as being responsible for the maintenance of law and order, decided to prosecute at the Quarter Sessions, William Massey, Thomas Yates, Henry Riley and William Bamford for assaulting the constable and churchwardens on March 17th in the execution of their duties and for attempting on March 18th to rescue an unnamed person from prison.

The second decision was of more than temporary interest. St. Peter's had never been heated and accordingly on December 5th (possibly a very cold day), the Vestry decided that subscriptions for heating the Church should be solicited and that "if the subscriptions are not sufficient, the cost shall be taken out of the church rates." Now "church rates" had been levied for centuries on all householders for the maintenance of St. Peter's, public celebrations, etc., but since 1800, many of the ratepayers had joined Nonconformist Chapels and many did not attend any place of worship at all, so that the power which the Vestry possessed to impose rates for the improvement of St. Peter's seemed an anachronism to all but members of the Established Church. No information is available concerning the result of the appeal or whether the cost of heating the church was borne by the rates, but there is little doubt that there would be some complaints. It was obvious to many that the time had come to separate the government of the Parish Church from that of the township.

The awkwardness of the situation was apparently realised at the next meeting of ratepayers (usually only attended by churchmen), because in 1817, instead of electing a "Vestry," they appointed "The Committee for the management of the affairs of the town." All knew also that there was a scheme among nonconformists and others to obtain Parliamentary sanction for the election of a "Commission," which should be independent of the Church, to take over the administration of the town. The "Town Committee" of 1817 was composed of Joseph Massey, sen., Webster Fishwick, William Crook, Christopher Crook, James Massey, John Roberts, and Christopher Edmondson. It was expected to deal with poor relief, police, lighting, health, and nuisances.

The Town Committee was allowed the power to appoint unpaid officials, but the ratepayers retained the right to appoint paid servants. Thus, in 1817, John Riley was a paid overseer with a salary of £30 a year but he received his office by election at the annual meeting of ratepayers. All overseers, however, were ultimately responsible to, and therefore, servants of, the county Justices; on one occasion, at least, the Justices paid the salary of the overseer and then claimed it from the Burnley rates. The appointment of a paid official by the ratepayers was certainly democratic but it created many complications. Such an arrangement was kept up in Burnley until 1870 in spite of the fact that the Burnley Board of Guardians supervised the work of the paid overseer and were largely responsible for the way in which he carried out his duties; they frequently petitioned the Poor Law Commissioners to give them the right to appoint their own servants and to take away that privilege from the Easter meeting of the ratepayers.

Owing to the continued growth of the population and the decline in trade, Henry Riley's work had increased to such an extent that the Town Committee appointed John Smith to act as his assistant to collect the poor rates; the assistant's salary was deducted from the wages paid to Riley and a public election was deemed unnecessary. Miles Veevers, the other overseer, was unpaid and probably acted as an outdoor relieving officer.

The increase of poverty and the likelihood of disorders compelled the Town Committee to consider building a new poor-house and a new prison. The decision to undertake the work was made at the Sun Inn on May 2nd 1817 and six days later they had agreed on the sites. The new poor-house was to be built on land (now the site of the Municipal Abattoirs) owned by Mr. Hargreaves of Newchurch in Rosendale; the new prison was to be built where the Savoy now stands. At a later meeting of the Town Committee, the township of Habergham Eaves was offered the use of the prison if that township would bear a quarter of the cost, but if they refused "they be not allowed to participate in the benefits of the said erection."

To find the necessary money without increasing the rates, the Committee decided "to look into the waste land account." The waste land of 1817 consisted of small plots which had not been allotted at the great share-out in 1617-21, and, as they were considered to belong to all the inhabitants, the Vestry in previous years had sold some plots and leased

others. The Committee decided to sell all the plots and use the money for the benefit of the town. The transactions as recorded on May 9th 1817 were as follows:—

Waste Land, May 9th 1817.

The undermentioned have purchased and stand indebted for waste lands.

James Rawcliffe for land at the end of the bridge: ⁽³⁾ to pay with interest	£2	2	0
James Topper for waste land at Goodham Mill: ⁽⁴⁾ paid J. Hargreaves Esq. June 7th 1811	£67	8	8
and to be accounted for with interest	£41	17	6
Thomas Hargreaves waste land at Goodham Mill to be accounted for at the same value as Mr. Topper's, supposed at 6d. per yard.			
A parcel of land on the west side of the Aqueduct but an offer to be made to Miss Plumbe to exchange for land to widen Gunsmith Lane.			
A parcel of land near Beehole, opposite a meadow belonging to Major Hargreaves	£5	0	0
A parcel of land on the left hand side on the top of Brunshaw adjoining a field called Plumpton, Lawrence Halstead (to pay)	£10	0	0
A parcel of land in Rackup Lane ⁽⁵⁾ sold to P. E. Towneley to be accounted for with interest	£20	0	0
A parcel of land at the top of Rackup Lane adjoining to Major Hargreaves' pasture land.	£7	0	0
A parcel of land above Hebrew Road Toll Bar adjoining to Mr. Folds, at 2s. a yard			
A parcel of land situated adjoining to Mr. Whittam's cottages in Burnley Lane. Mr. Whittam paid for a parcel of land in Burnley Lane on April 18 1815,—paid James Hargreaves	£20	16	3
to be paid with interest	£11	11	0
A parcel of land in Barden Lane			
A parcel of land at Burnley Lane Head sold to Mr. Fishwick and Mr. Clegg, against which they are to produce their accounts	£50	0	0

3. Near the Cross Keys.

4. The "waste" plot was near the White Horse Inn, according to deeds.

5. The Ridge Road between Brunshaw and Queen's Park.

A parcel of land near the Old Workhouse,⁽⁶⁾ also
on the East and West in Burnley Lane

A parcel of land near to the Park land in front
of Chapel Yard

A parcel of land in the Mill Lane,⁽⁷⁾ to Robert
Hargreaves and others

August 8th 1817.

Waste land in Burnley Lane to the West of
Mr. Whitham's cottages sold by Mr. Clegg
to Mr. Whitham at 15d. per yard; presumed
length 130 yards.

November 3rd 1817.

Major Hargreaves bought waste land in Rackup
Lane adjoining Hargreave's property. £15 0 0

The debts outstanding on the purchase of waste land before
the Town Committee assumed responsibility show a lack of
financial efficiency in the old Vestry.

The Committee of 1817, faced, as it was, by increased expenses, was compelled on July 4th to borrow £200 from Holgate's Bank to pay off a number of debts, amounting to over £336, including £156 for the county levy. No doubt it must have been sorely tempted to use an unspent balance of £16 14s. 0d. which had been given for peace celebrations. Expenditure was curtailed in all ways; the salary of the constable, Joseph Wood, was "not to exceed £10 10s. 0d. a year," and it was decided that a pauper, named Woodhead, whom Burnley had maintained, really belonged to Habergham Eaves and "must be kept by that township. Three unpaid surveyors were appointed who agreed "to put an iron hand-rail opposite Mr. Fishwick's cottages going down Keighley Green" and "to repair the half Bank opposite the School-house" (the old Grammar School facing the top of School Lane). For the latter road-work, the Committee agreed to pay half the cost and expected the other half from Major Hargreaves and "what it can get from the the landowners."

In 1819, the first step was taken to separate the government of Burnley township from the government of the parish and church by promoting an Act of Parliament for that purpose. The Act will be discussed later in this chapter but here it may be mentioned that "Commissioners" were to

6. Brennand Street (Colne Road end).

7. Bridge Street from King's Mill to Parker Lane.

be responsible for the paving, lighting, watching and improvement of Burnley; it left the maintenance of the poor and public celebrations in the hands of the Vestry.

In spite of the 1819 Burnley Act of Parliament,⁽⁸⁾ which transferred the powers of the Vestry and the Town Committee to a body of Commissioners, the old method continued. Such defiance of a town to any authorised change in its government is possibly unique, but one can only surmise the reasons. Burnley people may have considered that traditional methods of government were preferable to expensive new ones, however legal the latter might be. At the same time, it should be remembered that democratic ideas were spreading in Burnley in the early part of the 19th century, and many cries had already been heard for a wider and more equal franchise. Though the system of electing members of the Vestry or the Town Committee might be unfair, it was, at any rate, democratic, in the sense that all ratepayers had the right to vote at the Easter elections and nominate candidates to serve on the committees; the new Act of Parliament made no pretence of election but automatically entrusted the government of Burnley to all those who owned property worth £50 a year or resided in a house rented at £100 a year. Such a system was doomed to failure in Burnley of 1819, even before it began; even the promoters of the Act do not seem to have made any vigorous effort to put it into effect.

The Town Committee was therefore again elected by the ratepayers at their annual Vestry meeting in 1819 at the Parish Church and the only change was in the appointment of fairly large separate committees to deal with poor relief, roads, and the development of the town in general. The committee for poor relief was called "The Select Vestry" and its work has already been described in a previous chapter. For the maintenance of all roads in the township except Turnpike Roads, a committee of "surveyors" was appointed. In 1823, there were ten surveyors and each one of them seems to have undertaken to keep in repair all the roads in a particular section of the township and for that purpose was allowed to make a contract with the committee. In November 1823, the road at Lane Head was reported to be in a bad state of repair and Christopher Edmondson of Lane Head, one of the ten surveyors, promised to keep his agreement to put the road in repair. In the following January, the bad state of the road was once more the subject of a complaint "since Christopher Edmondson, the taker of the road, had done nothing satisfactorily"; an investigation was ordered by

the full committee and "estimates of the cost of doing it properly" were called for. Brown Street was also repaired in 1823 and Mr. Radcliffe, parson of St. Peter's, was asked to contribute £25 towards the cost, as he was the "ground landlord" of the street; the Water Company and the Gas Company were asked to contribute £5 to cover the damage done to the street by their workmen. The ratepayers' meeting of 1823 also sanctioned the appointment of Thomas Pollard at a salary of £5 a year as deputy-constable to assist William Chaffer, the constable.

At the elections of 1831, twenty men were appointed to the Town Committee and included William Roberts, manufacturer, John Birley, Holden Hammerton, solicitor, James Pate, John Spencer, innkeeper, Anthony Buck, lawyer, Francis Whitham, manufacturer, and Benjamin Bell, grocer, of Hebrew Road; seven others were appointed as surveyors. The salary of William Chaffer, the constable, was fixed at £30 a year. (Peter Lord, constable of Habergham Eaves, received only £7 10s. 0d. a year, and, out of that, he had to pay the salary of his deputy; George Pickup, paid overseer of Habergham Eaves, received a salary of £50 a year). Township notices were ordered to be posted on "The Barn Doors of Thomas Tattersall's (the Talbot), at the Hall Inn, the Bull Inn, and George Rawcliffe's Cross Keys."

The increase of drunkenness and gambling and the general lowering of the standards of morality seriously disturbed the minds and thoughts of Burnley's leading citizens, and the Town Committee, which was responsible for this side of life in the town, decided to take action. The new spirit displayed by the town officials owed much to the Reverend Mosley Master who, since his coming to Burnley in 1826, had thrown all his energies into the reform of the parish. A general meeting of ratepayers was called by the Committee to consider "the most effectual methods to be adopted to prevent profanation of the Sabbath," believing that morals would be improved if playing games, gambling, and all such other practices could be stopped on Sundays. Unfortunately, the meeting relied solely on ancient statutes which gave churchwardens and other parish officers the right to insist that all parishioners should observe the Sabbath Day. The meeting resolved that "as the profanation of the Sabbath has been carried to a most enormous height by drunkenness, gambling and other indecent, irreverend and disgraceful practices and pastimes, special measures should be taken to prevent such practices and enforce the laws for the observance of the Sabbath." Three "special measures" were adopted:

(1). Churchwardens should attend afternoon as well as forenoon services. It should be remembered that wardens had the right to arrest persons who played games during Divine Service, and it was with this power that wardens often left the Church and went out into the fields and lanes to break up any games they saw. (2). Townships should be divided (into sections) and suitable persons should be appointed to assist the churchwardens; such persons should be made "Special Constables" (which possibly gave them more authority). (3). Laws, or abstracts from them, relating to the profanation of the Sabbath, should be widely circulated. These measures would seem to be comprehensive but it is much to be regretted that there is no evidence of what degree of success attended the "special measures."

The Town Committee of 1835 consisted of 20 members, — five manufacturers, four grocers, Eastham, the ironmonger, Birley, the boat-builder, James Pate of the Red Lion, four farmers, Elijah Helm, coal-agent, Broxup, saddler, Greenwood, cornmillers, and Sutcliffe, cabinet-maker,—a fairly representative group of Burnley's foremost tradesmen. The ratepayers also appointed James Robinson as assistant (or paid) overseer at a salary of £40 a year, three unpaid overseers and a Select Vestry of seven men to take charge of the supervision of the workhouse and the administration of outdoor relief to the poor. In the same year the churchwardens decided to ask for public subscriptions for a new organ for St. Peter's, but there was no suggestion on this occasion that the rates should bear any part of the cost.

A very interesting example of the powers of the annual general meeting of the township at St. Peter's was shown in 1838 by the appointment of William Chaffer, postmaster, "to collect assessed taxes" i.e. on carriages, men-servants, armorial bearings, dogs, plate and certain other "luxuries." Such a position at the present time would be filled by the Civil Service. Chaffer's salary, as collector, was £10 a year.

It has already been seen how the Vestry rearranged its committees to meet the increasing complications of town government and to meet the challenge of certain people for a separation of Church and town. For some years it was successful in retaining its powers over poor relief, police, roads and the general conduct of town affairs. The first great reduction in its authority occurred in 1837, when the annually elected Select Vestry, which supervised the workhouse and paid out poor relief, had to surrender its responsibilities to the Burnley Poor Law Union, which was quite independent of the Church.

The year 1840 saw the surveyors, or road committee, and the police committee faced with two difficulties. Brown Street had not been repaired to the satisfaction of either the residents or the local magistrates; the surveyors denied any liability for the road and the J.P.s threatened a prosecution at the Quarter Sessions. The surveyors therefore summoned a township meeting and put forward the argument that Brown Street was not a "common highway" and that the property owners were therefore liable to keep the street in good repair. This argument appears to have been unanswerable and the meeting resolved "not to spend any money on the repair of Brown Street." A search in the records of the Quarter Sessions has not shown any prosecution of Burnley surveyors for failing to maintain the street, so that the township probably won its point.

The problem facing the police committee was more serious, for it had become apparent to all that a radical change in the ancient system of maintaining law and order was being forced upon the town government. For centuries, Burnley had had its constable. In Tudor and Stuart times, when that official was unpaid, the office was filled in rota by all copyholders, but in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when there was a salary attached to the duty, the constable was elected at the ratepayers' annual meeting. He had no special training for his special duties (except what he got by bitter experience), carried on with his normal work, e.g. as a blacksmith or mason, and went "on duty" when he considered it necessary. The constable was assisted by watchmen in the 17th century, but there is no evidence to show how they were elected or whether they were paid; at one time, all the police had been armed with guns and halberds, but staves were the only weapons allowed to them in the 18th and 19th centuries. Persons suspected of serious offences were locked up in the Fleet Street prison and taken on the first opportunity before a local J.P., who, if he considered it necessary, committed them to Preston or Lancaster gaol; those guilty of minor offences were tried and often sentenced to punishment in the stocks.

The "part-time," untrained constables did their work satisfactorily as long as townships were small and self-contained, but when industries expanded and immigrants came, and when crime seemed to thrive amidst poverty and distress, the old system necessarily began to break down. In 1829, Sir Robert Peel instituted the Metropolitan Police for use in London. This force consisted of trained men who gave their whole time to their duties and proved so successful in preventing crime that the new system was quickly adopted in other large cities and towns.

About 1835, the Lancashire County magistrates, who were ultimately responsible for the preservation of order in the county began to introduce the "bobbies" or "peelers" into the Lancashire towns under their jurisdiction. The Burnley Town Committee, fearing this new interference with the conduct of their own internal affairs, reorganised their own police system by appointing two unpaid "Head Constables," John Spencer, innkeeper, and Thomas Bland, grocer, to take an intimate interest in the criminal tendencies of certain of the inhabitants: William Chaffer was now styled "Deputy Constable, with a salary of £50, which was raised in 1837 to £60 and in 1838 to £65. To complete the police force, there was now appointed "An Assistant-Deputy Constable" with a yearly salary of £15.

In spite of the heroic efforts to stave off the inevitable changes, the Lancashire magistrates were not to be denied, and in 1840, much to the disgust of the Town Committee, the Watch Committee and certain sections of the community, six trained constables complete with top-hats, were drafted into the town and a magistrates' court set up at the old Wesleyan Chapel in Keighley Green. The Town Committee then dismissed the assistant-deputy constable (probably to save expense) and called a town's meeting "to take into consideration the efficiency of the new police." The meeting passed unanimously four scathing resolutions:— (1) that the protection afforded by the new Constabulary Force is not commensurate with the cost of upholding it, (2) that the new police, being strangers, are inefficient because they do not know the persons they have to deal with and have not the trust which an efficient police should always get, (3) that the deputy constable could do the work better than the new police force, (4) that a Memorial be presented to the Lieutenants of the County praying them to use their influence for the abolition of the County Constabulary Police.

Possibly as a sign of defiance and disgust, John Spencer was voted once again to his position of "Constable for the Township of Burnley." The whole question, however, took a very serious turn in 1842 when the "Plug Riots" broke out and Burnley was subjected to mob lawlessness. The military from Burnley Barracks were called out and eventually order was again restored. In 1843, an Act of Parliament decreed that for towns such as Burnley, 52 special constables should be enrolled. A compromise between the old and new police forces appears to have been effected: the 52 volunteers should serve under Burnley's deputy-constable, James Robinson, of Bankhouse, who received a salary of £20 a year, and

presumably under the unpaid Head Constable, John Spencer. The small force of "regulars" appears to have acted independently of the "specials."

The year 1844 saw another important change in the government of Burnley. The annual general meeting of ratepayers, held on May 27th 1844, resolved that "In lieu of appointing surveyors, repairs of highways should be under the control of a board consisting of a number of townsmen" and they proceeded to appoint 12 men to serve on the first board. Such an arrangement was in accordance with an Act of 1835 which applied to townships with over 5,000 inhabitants. The new board was quite independent of the old Town Committee and had the power to levy its own rates. Before the new scheme could really begin to function, the Burnley Act of Parliament of 1846 was passed which altered completely the government of the town.

THE POSITION IN 1846.

In 1800, the annual meeting of ratepayers, which was held at St. Peter's, elected paid and unpaid officials and committees to govern the town in all its departments, subject to the authority of the county magistrates. The Act of 1819 gave to self-appointed Commissioners the right to govern the town except in matters dealing with pauperism, which was left under the control of the elected overseers of the poor. The Act was never put into force and the old system was allowed to continue. In 1837, the ratepayers' annual meeting began to elect representatives to serve on the Board of Guardians, a body that was quite independent of the old town committees; the meeting still retained the right to appoint salaried officials to their overseers and Guardians. The county authorities took over the policing of the town in 1840 and the ratepayers soon ceased to appoint their own constable. In 1844, a committee of townsmen, independent of the annual meeting at St. Peter's, took over the control of the roads. Only the power to appoint churchwardens remained to the Easter meeting, and that soon became purely a matter for members of St. Peter's. The Act of 1846 completely severed the government of the township from St. Peter's and its Vestry.

THE ACT OF 1819.

The private Act of Parliament for "paving, lighting, watching and improving the Township of Burnley" was passed on May 19th 1819.

Area. The "new" Burnley lay within a circle with a radius of three-quarters of a mile from the mere-stone or mark-stone which was placed in the middle of St. James' Street

opposite "the great Front Door of the Black Bull Inn." The "Police Circle" as it was later called, extended to a point near the colliery gates in Colne Road, the Toll House on Brunshaw, Rose Cottage on Todmorden Road, Towneley Railway Station, Lower Haworth Fold Farm, Hoodhouse Street in Manchester Road, Nairne Street in Coal Clough Lane, Barracks Road in Accrington Road and Sand Street in Padiham Road. It thus included the most thickly populated part of the ancient township of Habergham Eaves.

Government. All owners of houses, buildings, and lands within that area of an annual value of £50, and all residents within the area who paid rentals of £100 a year were the "Commissioners." They were given powers to control the police, lighting, traffic, road repairs, and scavenging. They also were empowered to levy rates to carry out their schemes.

The Act laid down that the Commissioners should hold their first meeting at the Black Bull Inn on the 3rd Monday after the passing of the Act and afterwards regular meetings were to be held at the same place on the 1st Monday in each month. All expenses incurred at the meetings should be paid by the Commissioners themselves; the town accounts were to be audited on the 1st Thursday in July.

Police. The Commissioners were empowered to appoint watchmen, make watch-houses, and build a gaol. The new prison in Manchester Road was already in use, so the Commissioners had no worries on that point. Innkeepers, who "entertained" watchmen while on duty, were punished. The "watch-houses" were really wooden boxes, like sentry-boxes, made for the use of watchmen in inclement weather.

Lighting. The Commissioners were empowered to set up street lamps for the convenience of the townsmen.

Streets, etc. The Commissioners were empowered to name streets and declare new streets to be highways. The repair and cleansing of lanes in the town was the responsibility of the Commissioners. Streets were to be repaired by property-owners, if the Commissioners so ordered. Pavers were to be appointed as regular workmen under the new authority. Streets and highways might be watered, if the Commissioners thought it necessary.

Cleansing. Some streets had channels to carry off the surface water which reached the river by the easiest way, much to the annoyance and inconvenience of people living in

cellar dwellings in Wapping and other low-lying areas. To improve conditions, the Commissioners were given powers to make cess-pools for the surplus water.

The Act insisted that all householders should sweep the pavement and watercourse in front of their dwellings and put the dirt in a nice tidy heap to be collected; this important duty, imposed on householders, was to be performed before 9 a.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. Nor was St. Peter's forgotten; the churchwardens were instructed to carry out the same operation on the streets bordering the Church. The Act stated that scavengers must sweep and collect the dirt from the streets every Monday. What was to happen to the heaps of dirt so diligently swept up by householders and churchwardens on Wednesdays and Fridays is not stated in the Act.

Control of Traffic. The Commissioners were given the power to impound any pigs or other animals found wandering in the streets. Carts and carriages were not to be parked in the streets and they were not to stay at any one place longer than was necessary for loading or unloading.

The promoters of the Act were possibly uncertain about the local attitude to the control of sedan-chairs, hackney coaches and chaises and therefore the Commissioners were to be allowed to make their own bye-laws relating to those vehicles. The Act, however, did prohibit the use of a sedan chair by anyone unless a licence had been issued; the only exception made was to the user of a private sedan chair.

Rates, etc. The Commissioners were given the power to fix, enforce and collect rates for the purpose of the Act. They were also allowed to borrow money and buy buildings or land for the improvement of the town. Landlords were to pay the rates on furnished houses.

It is uncertain who promoted the Act of 1819 or why it was not carried out. Baines' History of 1824 does not mention any government of Burnley by Commissioners, so that at that date the Act was inoperative. He states "The government of the town is in a constable annually chosen; but there are no fewer than four justices of the peace, all acting for the hundred of Blackburn, in the town and its immediate neighbourhood, and a magistrates' meeting is held every Monday, at which they attend in rotation." Apparently, the only things that the Commissioners did up to 1822 were to levy a rate to meet the expenses incurred during the Parliamentary

proceedings and to appoint Mr. Anthony Buck as Clerk to the Commissioners. There was some difficulty in getting Commissioners to act, more difficulty in administering the Act, and still more difficulty in collecting the rate. Mr. Buck resigned his post in 1828.

Important amenities were brought to the people of Burnley when private companies were established to supply water and gas and provide a public market hall.

WATER.

By the Burnley Water Act of 1819, a Company of 49 Burnley men obtained sanction to take and use the water from certain springs and to lay pipes in the streets. Among the most prominent in the Company were Peregrine E. Towneley, Robert Townley Parker, John Hargreaves, Thomas Holgate, Joseph Massey, James Roberts, Rev. John Raws, Thomas Grimshaw and Thomas Kay. The water was taken from Calf Hey Well, near Cockden Bridge, but as the Burnley Corn Mill and Heasandford Mill and House had been partially supplied for some time from the same source, some compensation was made to the owners. Owing to the greater demand for water for new mills and houses, the Company built a reservoir at Swinden and another at Heasandford and thence the water was conveyed to the town by 6 in. mains. The Company was legally bound to put fire-plugs in all streets but only three plugs were fitted in the whole town.

The new "tap" water was not cheap and poor people could not afford to pay the extra rent which was charged for an indoor supply; even in 1886, the old Gothic Houses near School Lane were without water laid on. Many years therefore elapsed before people living near St. Peter's were not compelled to waste time waiting while their buckets and pans slowly filled at Shorey Well with drinking water or precariously getting water of doubtful cleanliness from The Brun for ordinary domestic purposes. Those who lived near Westgate obtained drinking water from a well at Goodham Hill or from a well at the back of the Cross Keys which was supplied with water from Burnley Moor. Wealthy people often had their own sunken wells; others dammed up a stream in their gardens; many employed boys to bring in a daily supply.

GAS.

Gas was first introduced in Burnley in 1818 when the new illuminant was introduced into a mill in Brown Street. Experiments in street lighting by gas were successful and in 1823 the Burnley Gas Company came into existence and on

April 11th 1826 secured Parliamentary powers to lay mains in streets. The Company was founded with a capital of £4,500 in £10 shares but this was increased in 1826 to £7,200 in £12 shares. From the beginning, the Company made large profits and dividends of 11% to 15% were paid; prices were high and ranged from 10s. for 1,000 cubic feet for ordinary house-lighting to 5s. for the same quantity for large consumers; gas for a street lamp for 2,000 hours cost £2 15s. 0d. There were many complaints about the impure nature of the gas which was described as "very bad, very bad indeed." The early shareholders included the Directors of the Craven Bank, Robert Townley Parker, Thomas Bland, Col. Hargreaves, Samuel Howard, John Haworth, Thos. Holgate, Thomas Kay, John Roberts, Francis Ward, and John Spencer.

THE MARKET HALL.

Soon after 1800, the very ancient weekly market and fair was transferred from its original site opposite the church to a position in St. James' Street near the present Manchester Road, which was then called "Market Street." (The present Market Street became "New Market Street" about 1840). The allotting of stalls on the new site caused little trouble to the officials but much confusion to the stall-holders. At 6 o'clock on the Monday morning of the market, all stall-holders lined up and, on the ringing of a bell, raced for the coveted positions, shopkeepers always making for stalls in front of their premises. Some employed small boys to run for them. The annual fair which had been held on July 10th since 1752, was also held in St. James' Street, though merry-go-rounds were stationed in Red Lion Croft behind the new prison. Cattle fairs were also held on March 6th, Easter Eve, May 6th, May 13th, July 10th, and October 11th.

Bad weather seriously affected the business of stall-holders and the pleasure of buyers and therefore a private scheme was launched to build a market hall: "The Company of the Proprietors of the Market Place of Burnley" was established in 1829 with a capital of £2,400 in £10 shares, on which the interest would be paid from the revenue obtained from stall-holders in the market hall and new market place. Land behind the Thorn Inn, called Thorn Croft, was bought, and a market hall, with the entrance on Howe Street, was erected; butchers' shops, called "The Shambles" were built between the present Market Street and Swallow Hall, the former residence of Henry Crook, but now known as the Market Tavern; fish shops were built adjacent to the market hall on the Market Street side and "fish-stones" were erected between them and the Shambles. A slaughter-house was erected near

the bridge in Standish Street. The appearance of the Market Place⁽⁹⁾ in 1829 was very different from that which it presents at the present time. Rodney Street, Fountain Street and Fountain Court with tenement houses and cellar dwellings occupied the site of the present Market Hall; the garden of the Swallow Hall extended well into the market place; there were no houses in Standish Street and the river was crossed by stepping stones.

THE ACT OF 1846.

It has already been seen that by 1819 the old system of governing Burnley by officials and committees who were annually appointed at a meeting at St. Peter's, was breaking down. The growth of nonconformity, the expansion of Burnley's industrial life, and the general trend of 19th century thought, showed that the administrative connection between the Church and the town would be broken, sooner or later. The separation might have come in 1819; the break really came with the passing of the Act of 1846, which was adopted and put into force, though not with the enthusiasm that one would have expected. The later Act, which was passed "for better paving, lighting, cleansing, regulating and improving the town and for better supplying the inhabitants with gas and water," kept the same "Police Circle" as laid down in the 1819 Act, but entrusted the government to 60 Commissioners whose qualification was the occupancy of house, buildings or land of a rateable value of £20. There were three wards; Habergham Eaves had 24 Commissioners, Burnley South 18, and Burnley North 18. The Commissioners were elected by the votes of ratepayers.

The main purpose of the Act was to empower the Commissioners to borrow money with which to purchase "the whole of the property and plant of the Burnley Water Company, consisting of Calf Hey Well with lands, reservoirs and general interest therein." After negotiations with the Company, the purchase price was fixed at £10,500 and the Commissioners agreed to retain mortgages amounting to £1,000 and pay certain ground rents of 32 guineas a year. As there was a general complaint that the water supply was inadequate and impure, the Commissioners embarked on a £26,000 scheme to build Hecknest (Heckenhurst) Reservoir, replace some of the mains, and make a general reorganisation of the whole system.

The new governing body, the Commissioners, did not experience a particularly happy time. Cliques soon appeared and bitterness often showed itself quite openly between them

9. Deeds in possession of Corporation.

and, while some individuals were constantly raising their pet grievances, others seemed anxious to benefit one particular section of the community. Attendance was bad and, on an average, less than a quarter of the members were present at the monthly meetings. The faithful few, who did try conscientiously to fulfil their duties, at last passed a resolution that a list of all meetings with the names of those who attended should be posted in the Commissioners' room at the Bull Hotel; there was a suggestion that the list should be published each month in the local newspapers, but nothing further was done.⁽¹⁰⁾

An outline of the topics discussed and business done at some of the monthly meetings held between November 1852 and December 1853 may be of interest.

The Road Committee did a great deal of work and came in for a great deal of criticism. A very bitter controversy broke out between the Commissioners about the conditions opposite the old corn mill in Bridge Street, where the mill dam completely stopped the direct route from St. James' Street to Mill Lane and Bank Street. To make access to Bank Street easier, Messrs. Spencer and Moore offered to give land, valued at £250, at the corner of Massey Street and Bridge Street, if the Commissioners would make "a new road" there. The offer was accepted but not without some criticism that it was wrong to spend public money on a street which would enhance the value of factories in Massey Street belonging to Messrs. Spencer and Moore. Bridge Street was consequently widened at the corner of Massey Street, £100 was spent on building a wall round the dam, and the new roadway paved. The level of the street was also raised (to the detriment of the lower windows of Fielding's factory) and stronger buttresses were built to the bridge. Flagging and paving was begun in the Park (Mill Lane, Charles Street, and Edward Street), in part of Trafalgar Street and Thorneybank. Bethesda Street had been in the hands of the road-makers for some time, but delays occurred, and the work was at a standstill; complaints were heard that several people had been hurt by stumbling over road-making materials, when walking along the street in the dark. Long discussions were held about the dangerous state of Curzon Street bridge, but the Commissioners at length denied all responsibility and passed the matter to the "ground-landlords," Mr. Mosley Master and Mr. Robert Townley Parker. At the monthly meeting in April 1853, a special committee reported that the cost of repairing the roadways with macadam would cost £1,000 a year; it was unanimously decided to continue to pave with set-stones.

10. Reports of Commissioners' meetings
1852-3 from the Burnley "Mentor."

A great deal of time was taken up at every meeting with discussions and complaints about the supply of gas, which, at that time, was provided by a private company, the Burnley Gas Company. Burnley's gas, it was said, was bad and too dear, and some Commissioners made pointed references to the large dividends paid by the Company. Messrs. Folds and Holroyd were strongly of the opinion that the town would benefit financially if the Commissioners bought out the Company and took over the manufacture and supply of gas as a "municipal" undertaking; Messrs. Lomas and Holden, although agreeing that the position was far from satisfactory, thought that the Town's debt ought not to be increased by adopting such a scheme. The Company then issued its new scale of reduced charges:—4s. 6d. per 1,000 cu. feet to houses, 4s. to business premises, 3s. 6d. to mills; objections were then raised that the proposed scale favoured the cotton masters. In June 1853 several Commissioners acting as private individuals, summoned a public meeting to be held in the Wesleyan School, Keighley Green, and there, they proposed to form "The New Gas Consumers' Company" as a rival to the old Burnley Gas Company. The sponsors complained to the audience that Burnley gas was inferior in quality and too dear, and brought an expert in the manufacture of gas to prove that the new Company could make and sell gas at 2s. per 1,000 cubic feet. (At the beginning of the meeting, hand-bills had been distributed by the gas-collector of the old Company stating that another scale of charges had been adopted, which fixed the price at 3s. per 1,000 cu. feet for every consumer). Mr. Holden said that consumers had a right to manufacture their own gas, while Mr. Lomas claimed that "a monopoly was bad for consumers and therefore let them make town gas by the town and drive the old Company out." Some speeches were devoted to attacks on the personal character of opponents,— "The present Gas Company was formed by cotton masters for their own personal advantage," and others showed a political bias,— "They are all Tories." The promoters of "The New Gas Consumers' Company" finally recognised that the Act of 1819 had given to the old Company the sole right to manufacture and supply gas in Burnley, and their scheme was abandoned. Eventually, in November 1853, the Commissioners, by a majority vote, made their decision to promote another Act to enable them to borrow money for the purchase of the existing gasworks.

In 1853, and for the first time in Burnley, the most important, and much-needed, office of "Inspector of Nuisances" was created. Joseph Sutcliffe was appointed to

the duty in May of that year but he resigned in the following September and was succeeded by a former army paymaster-sergeant, named Black.

The balance sheet for the year ending March 1st 1853 gave the following figures:— the town's debt was £43,000; income from rates (levied at 1s. in the pound) and profits from the water department amounted to £4,052; expenditure amounted to £4,028, of which £1,749 was the interest on loans, £612 the cost of repairing the roads, £528 the cost of gas-lighting, £456 the payment of salaries, and £58 spent on stationery and stamps.

Meanwhile, articles and letters had appeared in the local newspapers, which either lamented the growing expenses and increasing debts or demanded further reforms. One letter stated that the only improvement made by the Improvement Commissioners was the improving of the town's debt and charged the governing body with saddling the town with a debt it could not bear; another claimed that the price of gas was too high, though it was proved that Burnley obtained gas as cheaply as any town in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Some townsmen deplored the lack of any official effort to root out moral evil in the town; others decried the many nuisances, e.g. smoke and dirt from the brick-kilns in Bankhouse Street, the smells from sizing-mills, the fewness of the scavengers, and the number of pig-sties. One editorial admitted that under the Commissioners, "Dirty impassable lanes have been converted into noble streets; low irregular buildings have become uniform, giant structures; Grimshaw Street is fair to see;" but doubted whether "wretched inhabitants of the reeking hovels situated in the uncared-for alleys of Wapping and Salford" could really be expected to appreciate such improvements since they had never the need to pass through the "noble" streets. It was also pointed out that in most cases the improvements to the streets had been made at the expense of property owners and had not been borne by the rates. Several suggestions advocated the provision of other amenities, such as an illuminated four-dial clock, a glass-roofed market hall near the Mechanics' Institute, which could be used also as a concert hall, an assembly hall, a Commissioners' room and a store house; the main desire, however, was that the Commissioners should make arrangements for a new cemetery, for which "Happy Valley" off Barden Lane was suggested as a suitable site. In spite of all the letters of advice, congratulations, and condemnation the Commissioners concentrated their thoughts on the question of buying out the Burnley Gas Company, while ratepayers took up their stand on one side or the other, or argued for some other desirable cause. Opponents

of the Commissioners' resolve to buy out the Gas Company showed that only a fraction of the total expenses went to the buying of gas from the private company and that it was most improbable that a publicly-owned company could produce gas any cheaper; they showed that the publicly-owned waterworks had been mismanaged, seeing that they had spent £22,000 on building Hecknest Reservoir to hold eight million cubic feet of water whereas it held only 3,870,000 cubic feet, that they had spent £4,000 to secure Parliamentary sanction to buy out the old water company, and the only advantage was that the Commissioners charged a water rate of 6s. for cottages instead of 7s. which was demanded by the old private company. Supporters of the Commissioners maintained that the manufacture of gas was very profitable and that the town would therefore benefit, and that the town should not be dependent on a private concern to provide one of the most important amenities of life.

THE BURNLEY IMPROVEMENT ACT OF 1854.

The purpose of the Act, as expressed in the Preamble, was to empower the Commissioners "to extend their waterworks, and to provide and maintain gasworks, and to supply gas, and to make and maintain a cemetery, and baths, wash-houses and bathing places, and . . . to levy rates and raise monies for the purpose of this Act." It was stated that the town's debt was £43,997, of which £38,000 had been raised for the purpose of the waterworks. The Act allowed the Commissioners to increase the debt to £105,000 and to charge a police rate of 2s. in the £, a highway rate of 1s., and a cemetery rate of 1½d.

Area. The area of "The Town" was the same as in 1819; the mere-stone was "opposite the former great front door of the Black Bull Inn . . . and opposite the shop occupied by Thomas Sutcliffe, stationer, which has been erected on the site of the Black Bull Inn."

Commissioners. There were to be 60 Commissioners, elected from the three wards by ratepayers. The qualification of a Commissioner was the ownership or occupancy of house or building of a yearly rateable value of £15. Eleven Commissioners formed a quorum at the monthly meetings.

There was considerable apathy among electors as well as Commissioners. In Habergham Eaves, 59 candidates were nominated for the 24 seats, but the highest recorded vote was 53; in Burnley North Ward, one Commissioner was elected by 8 votes. Among the more prominent Commissioners were

G. Barnes, J. Barnes, B. Chaffer, E. Houlding, W. Lomas, T. T. Wilkinson, E. Rawlinson, T. Moore, W. Lomas, J. Folds, J. Clegg, Hor. Hartley, J. Heelis, G. Smirthwaite, J. Heelis, J. H. Scott, W. M. Coultate, J. Spencer, J. Greenwood, W. Hopwood, O. Folds, D. Dugdale, G. Slater, J. Margerison, N. Knowles, L. Massey, and M. Veevers.

The Commissioners continued to meet in the Bull Inn but later transferred the scene of their deliberations to a room over the Fire Station in Manchester Road. Commissioners' meetings had never been dull during the period 1846-54, but from 1854-1861, arguments became lengthier, discussions still more heated, and every opportunity was seized to air the many grievances.⁽¹¹⁾ Even the appointment of a bookkeeper needed a meeting of the selection committee and two meetings of the full body of Commissioners. There were 53 applicants, and a Mr. Harper of Liverpool and a Mr. King of Bradford were asked to appear before the selection committee, which recommended the appointment of the Liverpool gentleman. At the first Commissioners' meeting where the final decision should have been made, agreement became impossible when it was discovered that one applicant had been given a written examination and the other, through lack of time, only an oral test; accusations of political bias were made and the meeting had to be adjourned. At the next meeting, Mr. King was elected by ten votes against his rival's seven.

On April 15th 1854, the Commissioners agreed to buy the works, plants, mains, and other appurtenances of the Gas Company for £20,000, discharge a mortgage of £3,800 and complete the new works at Stoneyholme for £6,000. The town therefore secured possession of the gas undertaking for approximately £30,000. Shareholders in the Gas Company did fairly well; during the period 1827-54, each share of £12 had received a total dividend of £37 2s. 6d., at least one bonus of £2, and was purchased by the Commissioners for £36 10s. 0d. At one point in the negotiations, the Company had asked for £36,000 while the Commissioners offered £21,000.⁽¹²⁾ By 1861, nearly £40,000 had been expended on the works.

The new undertaking was jealously watched and every effort was made to ensure that it should be financially profitable. There were objections raised to the presence of cotton masters on the gas committee lest the mills should benefit at the expense of the public. Gas mains were laid up Colne Road from Ebenezer to Duke Bar and two gas-lamps were erected, but similar provision was not granted to Stoney-

11. Reports of Commissioners' meetings 1855-7 from "Minutes." 12. Local Press reports.

holme, Hollingrove and Fulfilledge. Petitioners for gas from Stoneyholme were told that the Commissioners were not allowed to lay mains through fields or along private roads into their district, but the real reason for the refusal, according to private reports, was that such a project would be "unprofitable." A proposal to carry gas-pipes over the canal to Hollingrove was defeated and the same fate met a proposal to lay pipes in the watercourse at Finsley and through the Aqueduct at a cost of £450 to supply Fulfilledge Meadow. One Commissioner said "We are not bound to supply gas if it is not profitable."

When the Gas Company had been taken over, the Commissioners turned their attention to the provision of a much needed cemetery. "Happy Valley," near Barden Lane, was suggested as a suitable site, but the landowners refused to sell the land. Sites on the Ridge and opposite Bank Hall in Colne Road were proposed and abandoned on account of local opposition. Eventually Spa Clough was acquired and the burial ground was opened on June 1st 1856. The cost of laying out the land was estimated at £7,000 but by 1860 some £8,861 had been spent.

The Water Committee and Mr. Emmett, who had been appointed water manager in 1854 at a salary of £100 a year, came in for much criticism. The water undertaking, to judge by comments made in the local newspapers, was not in a satisfactory condition. The new reservoir at Greenhill, off Manchester Road, was under construction but it was said that the work was being badly done, while, Heckenhurst reservoir was alleged to be a complete failure. Such fears and the increase in the town's debt influenced the Commissioners to refuse the appeal of some members of the water committee to promote another Act of Parliament which would sanction the borrowing of more money to build another reservoir, necessary, it was said, because "the existing reservoirs could be run off in 46 hours, and a dangerous situation would arise in cases of fire." The Commissioners decided to make the existing reservoirs more efficient; the proposed extensions were estimated to cost £7,000.

Some trouble was experienced with collection of the water-rate. Outside taps had been put in various places to accommodate groups of tenants, but some of them were used by people who had no right to those sources of town water. Thus, the shopkeepers of New Market Street (now Market Street) were known to be using tap water but would not pay the water-rate; various methods were tried unsuccessfully "to catch them in the act," and so it was decided "to cut off

their gas supply." The matter was complicated by the existence of troughs at the Thorn and Cross Keys, which were filled with town water; here, neighbours regularly gathered to get fresh water without paying for the privilege.

The Road and Development Committee was kept busy with repairing old roads, and excavating, sewerage, paving and flagging new roads. Coal Street was "sewered, paved and completed;" footpaths were made in Fenkin Street and School Lane; St. James' Street was widened; Hargreaves Street was also widened, and when a criticism was made that such an alteration ought to have been done by the property owners in the street, the Commissioners justified their action by declaring that Hargreaves Street was "an old highway" and therefore the cost had to be borne by the town.

A list of "Public Highways in Burnley" (exclusive of turnpike roads), which was published on July 4th 1855, gives the following streets:— Grimshaw Street, Red Lion Street, Boot Street, Parker Lane from Grimshaw Street to St. James' Street, Croft Street, Holt Street from Grimshaw Street to Red Lion Street, Thomas Street from Grimshaw Street to Red Lion Street, St. Peter's Street from Parker Lane to Croft Street, White Lion Street, Cliviger Street, Finsleygate to the extremity of the pavement at the Ship Inn, Firth Street, Back Aqueduct Street, Howe Street, Fulfilledge Street, Bethesda Street, Water Street, Cannon Street, Hall Street, Pickup Street, and Exmouth Street.⁽¹³⁾

A new bridge was built at the bottom of Parker Lane after £60 damages against the Commissioners had been awarded to the relatives of a man who had fallen over the parapet of the old bridge. The new bridge was 50 feet wide with a carriage way to the gas-house and cost £100. Mr. Fielding, who wished to build a new mill in Bridge Street, received £25 from the Commissioners towards the cost of building an archway over the Brun, and widening the bridge and the street. Messrs. Spencer and Moore gave to the town a portion of land near the Dairy. The landlord of the Bee's Wing in Wapping was refused permission to build a footbridge over the Brun.

The Watch Committee was seriously disturbed about the condition of the fire-engine, "the age of which went beyond the memory of man." Some improvements were effected, but the Commissioners, with a view to limiting every expense, passed a resolution that "When firemen are at fires, their wages from the Commissioners shall cease for the time." The wages of the firemen for the period of the fire evidently became a liability on the unfortunate persons who had used their services.

The Sanitary Committee was especially active, as far as the law allowed, and in addition to putting an end to nuisances, they began a more regular system of scavenging. On January 7th 1857, the committee decided that "offensive matter should be removed every Friday from March 21st to October 21st, and every Tuesday and Friday from October 21st to March 21st. It is difficult to understand why streets should be cleansed twice a week in the winter months but only once a week in the summer months.

The Commissioners solved two great difficulties that concerned their own constitution. It was found that after every election some persons, who had been regularly nominated and elected, refused to serve as Commissioners; to hold other elections to fill vacancies would cause endless expense, and, therefore, the Commissioners themselves decided to elect members to serve in the stead of those who had refused to accept office. The other difficulty lay in determining what powers could be assumed by the chairman of a committee. The matter was brought to a head when the Commissioners were asked to support the action of the chairman of the Gas Committee in buying a £200 engine without the knowledge of his committee. The chairman successfully defended his action on the ground that the engine was essential at the time to complete a scheme already sanctioned.

About 1857 a movement was begun to promote an Act of Parliament to make Burnley into a borough with Mayor and Council. In January 1859 a meeting was held in the Mechanics' Institute under the chairmanship of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth to discuss the scheme, but the meeting was badly attended and little enthusiasm was shown. During the following months, the advantages of incorporation were more fully explained and after another meeting, a petition was signed on October 12th 1860 by 2,939 out of 4,900 ratepayers asking for a Charter of Incorporation. In April 1861, the Government held an official enquiry into the conditions in Burnley and on October 24th 1861 the Charter was granted.

The Commissioners had done some good work during 1846-1861. It is true that they had incurred a debt of £97,713, i.e. twice the amount of the debt in 1854, but they had acquired water and gas undertakings and were providing far better supplies than ever before, they had made a cemetery, and had vastly improved the state of the streets and buildings. The size of the governing body of 60 Commissioners seems to have militated against its final success, for many of them took little interest in the work and left the onus of government,

though not the criticism, to a few ardent members. Personalities clashed, tempers often flared, and political, religious and industrial bias tended to influence decisions. Their tenure of office was an important and perhaps necessary step between the Vestry system under the aegis of the Justices of the Peace and the town council with wider powers and a more democratic outlook.

Meanwhile, those parts of Habergham Eaves, which were not included in the Burnley Police Circle of 1819 and 1846, still retained their old system of local government, except for providing police, which had been taken over by the county constabulary, and relieving pauperism, which was in the care of the Guardians. On March 17th 1853, the ratepayers held a meeting⁽¹⁴⁾ at their parish church of Holy Trinity, under the chairmanship of the incumbent, the Reverend S. Wilson, and proceeded to appoint their committees and officials. They elected a member to serve on the Board of Guardians, two churchwardens and sidesmen, eight surveyors, and three assessors of income and property taxes. The main work was the appointment of a full-time assistant overseer at a salary of £75 a year. There were two applicants for the position and before the vote was taken, the duties of an assistant overseer were read out to them: 1. Examine all cases of settlement of the poor, 2. prepare and collect poor rates and land taxes, 3. assist in and pay the expenses of the valuation of property, 4. help the Guardians, 5. find security for £800. The two candidates agreed to divide the salary and the duties; one became the assistant overseer, and the other agreed to collect assessed taxes, income tax and property tax.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.

Before the Act of 1832 Lancashire had only two county members and twelve borough members representing Liverpool, Lancaster, Preston, Wigan, Newton and Clitheroe. As Burnley was not a borough at the time, it was represented by the two county members. The franchise or right to vote was limited to those who held freehold land worth 40s. a year. Such a qualification for the franchise was enjoyed in 1792 by only nine persons in Burnley and immediate neighbourhood:—Christopher Crook of Burnley, Nicholas Halstead of Hood House, Robert Holden of Palace House, Lawrence Ormerod, Oliver Ormerod, sen., Oliver Ormerod, jun., all of Ormerod House, Charles Towneley, Edmund Towneley, and Sagar Veivers of Coalclough House.⁽¹⁵⁾

14. Burnley "Mentor."

15. Directory of 1792.

The Whigs had long urged a reform of the parliamentary system and when in 1830 they formed a Government with the avowed object of carrying through their policy, Burnley and Habergham Eaves forwarded a petition pointing out that their united population was over 13,000 and asking that they might have their own member of Parliament. The appeal was unsuccessful but the Act of 1832 increased the number of county members to four. Burnley was in the Northern Division of the County which had two members. The same Act extended the franchise though not to the expected degree. Landowners with land valued at 40s. a year still had the vote, but the same privilege was now granted to certain tenant-farmers, viz., copyholders with land of an annual value of £50. In boroughs, householders paying a rental of £10 obtained the franchise. Under the new arrangements, Burnley in 1832 had 86 voters and Habergham Eaves had 53. In the district, Altham had two voters, Barley ten, Blackburn 279, Briercliffe 31, Cliviger 28, Colne 132, Goldshaw Booth 12, Higham 13, Marsden 65, Old Laund two, Padiham 27, Read 11, Reedley Hallows 11, Roughlee 11, and Worsthorne nine. These numbers were increased a very little later by those who took advantage of the "Chandos Clause" in the Act which permitted all joint-holders of property of the limiting value to enjoy the franchise. Small groups of men therefore bought or erected a single property and each of them claimed the right to vote.

Hopes of Burnley people ran high in 1854 when Lord John Russell introduced another Parliamentary Reform Bill to redistribute the seats and extend the franchise. Burnley was in the list of new electoral districts and was allotted one member. Unfortunately, the Bill did not pass and Burnley had to wait until 1867 before the town became a Parliamentary Borough.

SUMMARY.

From the late 17th century until 1819, Burnley had been governed by churchwardens and other officials elected at the "Vestry Meeting" by ratepayers, or, as one Burnley document expresses it, by those subject to "scot and lot." The officers worked under the supervision of the Justices of the Peace, who examined accounts, checked the administration of poor relief, and watched over the work of parish road surveyors. In 1819 an Act was passed which took the government of Burnley, except for the relief of the poor and the maintenance of St. Peter's, out of the hands of the Vestry and entrusted it to a body of "Commissioners." The Act was not adopted and the Vestry itself made certain changes in its allocation of responsibility. Already, in 1817, the Vestry had

separated the government of St. Peter's from the government of the town; St. Peter's was left to the churchwardens; the town was controlled by the "Town Committee," which was still elected by the Vestry. In 1819, the Vestry elected a "Select Vestry" to relieve paupers, a road committee, and a police committee. Meanwhile, the right of churchwardens to levy rates for the upkeep of the church fell into abeyance.

In 1837, the maintenance of the poor was taken out of the hands of the Select Vestry and entrusted to the officers of the "Burnley Poor Law Union." In 1840, the Vestry lost its power to control the police and maintain order; this was taken over by the County Constabulary. In 1844, the Vestry put the control of the roads into the hands of 12 "townsmen." Thus, the Vestry was left with the sole power to appoint churchwardens and all paid officials of the township.

In 1819, the government of Burnley by "Commissioners" was made possible, but it was not until 1846 that the privilege was accepted. The Act of 1854 continued the new system. The Commissioners took over the Water Company in 1846, and the Gas Company in 1854. In 1861, the Commissioners were replaced by the Burnley Town Council, which was elected on a far more democratic basis than had ever before been adopted in Burnley.

CHAPTER XV.

National and Local History, 1760-1850.

George III	-	1760-1820
George IV	-	1820-1830
William IV	-	1830-1837
Victoria	-	1837-1901

From 1760 to 1815 the main features of national history which directly affected Burnley people were the French Wars 1793-1815, the Industrial Revolution, and the rise of Methodism. Of these, the history of the industrial changes and of religious expansion in Burnley has already been given.

The first part of the French War is known as "The Revolutionary War" 1793-1802 because it was fought against the French Republic to prevent the spread of revolutionary principles, the overthrow of monarchical government, and the establishment of a French supremacy in Europe. The French armies were successful on the Continent, but Britain saved herself from invasion by the Battles of St. Vincent and Camperdown and ruined the Eastern schemes of the French at the Battle of the Nile. During the last five years of the War, Napoleon rose to power, overthrew the Republican constitution and eventually in 1804 made himself Emperor. Peace was made between England and France in 1802.

An uneasy peace for 12 months followed the signing of the Treaty, and, as neither England nor France observed all its conditions, war was inevitable. In England it was feared that Napoleon was determined to establish his Empire over Western Europe and crush national independence and liberty; thus began "The Napoleonic War" 1803-1815. Once more, Britain was saved by the Navy at the Battle of Trafalgar. Then came the French invasion of Spain and Portugal and the first real opportunity for British troops to enter the fighting. A national rising broke out in the two invaded countries and Napoleon suffered his first serious military defeats. All hopes of final victory for the French were lost when Napoleon failed to bring the war with Russia to a satisfactory conclusion and had to retreat from Moscow. In 1814 Napoleon abdicated and was sent to Elba. Twelve months later, he left his island and returned to France, but the army which he raised was finally defeated in 1815 at the Battle of Waterloo.

During these wars it was the duty of each township to furnish a certain number of men. They were chosen by ballot and heavy fines were imposed on those who refused to serve. In some districts "militia clubs" came into existence with the object of hiring men to serve as substitutes for club-members who might be selected by the ballot. Samuel Crowther of Burnley served in the North Riding Militia as a substitute for Matthew Proctor of Healey in the North Riding; John Holgate of Burnley served with the same regiment for James Walker of Arkingarthdale. The Government made an allowance of 2s. a week to the wife of a serving soldier and 2s. for each child under 10 years of age; a child over 10 was supposed to earn its own keep.

Recruitment also went on to fill the gaps in the regular army. It is said that John Heap of the Lord Nelson was the local recruiting sergeant. The only names of Burnley men who are definitely known to have served in the army are Corporal Thomas Harris, Corporal John Pollard, and Private Henry Wilkinson. Corporal Harris served from 1804 to 1814; Private Wilkinson fought at Badajos. The landlord of the "Old Dog" (Wapping) had a service pension of 6d. a day.

Particularly during the earlier years of the war, the Government feared revolutionary outbursts in England. Repressive measures were therefore adopted and unions of workmen were declared illegal. In some towns which were experiencing the evil effects of the great industrial changes, great excitement prevailed and landowners were encouraged to form "Armed Associations for the defence of the country against foreign and domestic enemies." Such an association was formed in Burnley about 1797 and consisted of a troop of cavalry under the command of Colonel Hargreaves. A similar body was formed in Colne in 1798.

In 1793, when war broke out, Burnley inhabitants hastened to send out "comforts" consisting of 250 pairs of knitted woollen hose, 250 flannel shirts, and 126 pairs of men's strong boots; the gifts were sent to the men serving under the Duke of York, the Commander in Chief. In the following year, the National Patriotic Fund was opened and to this Mr. Starkie gave £200, Edmund Townley of Royle £50, Charles Towneley of Towneley £50, the Rev. John Hargreaves £25, Mr. Shaw, solicitor, £17 10s. 0d., Mr. Holgate, merchant, 10 guineas, Mr. Greenwood 10 guineas, and Mr. Aspinall, solicitor, £10.

Victories were celebrated in a suitable fashion. When news of the Battle of the Nile 1798 arrived in Burnley,

the church bells were rung, gunpowder was exploded, and blacksmiths made as much noise as possible on their anvils; at night, the town was "illuminated."

The most interesting celebration "that has ever occurred in Burnley or perhaps to any town of the size in the Kingdom" took place on July 15th, 1814, a few months after Napoleon's abdication and his dismissal to Elba. Little did the rejoicing crowds in Burnley know that the crisis was not over and that within 12 months the war would be renewed and Waterloo would have to be fought. The date July 15th is interesting for the annual three-days fair was held on July 9th, 10th and 11th, so that it is evident that a whole week was given as a local holiday instead of the usual three days. On the last day of the fair week, cannons were fired early in the morning and the church bells were rung at intervals throughout the day. About 2-30 in the afternoon 3,400 people bringing their own knives, forks, plates and drinking mugs assembled in the Bull Croft and sat down to dinner at four great tables arranged in a square; in the centre was a platform that served as bandstand. The diners ate up the carcasses of seven fat cows, new potatoes and bread, and well over a ton of rich plum pudding; to each person was given three pints of strong beer drawn from hogsheads of which the largest two were called "Wellington" and "Blucher." The local militia kept some semblance of order, the principal gentlemen of the town "waited on" at the tables, while the band played patriotic airs. After dinner, Colonel Hargreaves gave the toast of "The King" which was duly honoured with "three times three." Then more guns were fired and more toasts were drunk. People from the neighbouring villages came to join in the festivities but at 10 p.m. the official celebrations closed with "God Save the King." It is possible that on this day Napoleon's effigy was burnt near the Mason's Arms.

Celebrations were held on other days of the fair week. Broth was served on the Thursday and the poor received "a treat" on the Saturday. A grand ball was also held on the Thursday and on the following day the gentlemen dined at the Bull Inn and finished the day with another dance in the gaily decorated ballroom.

Whether the festivities of 1814 had proved too much or whether the people doubted the wisdom of celebrating another victory to mark a second overthrow of Napoleon is uncertain. Money was certainly collected after Waterloo in 1815 "to celebrate peace" and "in aid of the poor" but two years

later there was an unspent balance of £16 14s. 0d. for celebrations and of £22 17s. 4d. for the poor. Four years later it was decided to appropriate the first balance for the use of the Sunday school and the second for the use of the poor.

The names of some Burnley streets and public houses recall these years of war. Howe Street, Nelson House, and the Lord Nelson Inn are named after English admirals; Blucher Street is named after the Prussian general who arrived at Waterloo at the critical time; Nile Street (at right-angles to Fleet Street), Trafalgar Street and the Baltic Fleet Inn call to mind the naval victories; Duke Bar and the Duke of York Inn recall the name of an English commander in chief.

A general economic depression set in after 1815 and lasted until the middle of the century. Wages were low, prices and taxes were high, agitators and reformers roused the people and there were numerous civil disturbances. Such conditions were widespread and their influence on Burnley people has already been described. Reforms were introduced, particularly during Lord Liverpool's Second Ministry 1822-27 and the Whig Ministries of Lord Grey and Lord Melbourne 1830-1841. The greatest and most successful efforts to deal with the distress were made by Sir Robert Peel 1841-1846. Amongst other reforms, he carried through a policy of free trade and repealed the Corn Laws; the first reduced the price of British goods in the home and overseas markets with a consequent possibility of greater trade, more employment and a general rise in wages, while the second gave cheaper bread and an opportunity to exchange British manufactures for foreign corn. Thus distress was relieved, Chartism died away, and the foundations of future prosperity were laid.

It is interesting to note that Sir Robert Peel had near relatives in Burnley. The founder of the family fortunes was Robert Peel 1723-1813; he was a small farmer at Blackburn and went into partnership with William Yates and Jonathan Haworth in a small calico printing works at Brookside, and, according to the 1792 Directory, two large buildings in Burnley. "viz., one for engravers, print-cutters, and calico printers; the other for spinning cotton by machines, with dye-house and bleaching croft, etc." The two partners left the firm and Robert Peel began to build more factories, including one at Altham, which was destroyed by the textile operatives. He then removed to Burton where he built three new factories.

Robert Peel had four sons of whom William, the eldest, Robert, the third son, and Jonathan, the youngest, alone

concern us. William (died 1781) and Jonathan (died 1834) managed the family mills in Lancashire including the mill and "pencilling shop" in Sandygate and the mill in Lowerhouse. William's son, another William,, and his daughter, Elizabeth, came to live in Brown Street and their uncle Jonathan lived for some time at Bridge End House; later Jonathan went to live on an estate in Accrington and left his Burnley house to his nephew and niece. Elizabeth died in 1800 and made a large bequest to the poor of Burnley.

Robert, the third son of Robert Peel, became the first baronet and M.P. for Tamworth. Sir Robert's son, Robert became the Prime Minister of England 1841-1846 and was the nephew of Jonathan, who did so much to develop Burnley's industry, and the cousin of William and Elizabeth Peel of Bridge End House.

One of the most important Acts passed by the Peel Ministry was the Bank Charter Act, which, among other things, restricted the right of private Banks to issue an unlimited amount of private bank-notes. It has been said that the failure of Holgate's private Bank in Burnley in 1824 was due to the inability of the Bank to meet its obligations to redeem its own notes with cash; the Bank therefore closed down, holders of bank-notes could not cash them, depositors lost their savings, and property belonging to the Holgates was sold. Fortunately, they were later able to pay off all their debts, but some large Burnley manufacturers became bankrupt.

Unhappy conditions in Ireland forced many Irishmen to leave their native land and seek a living in England or America. Some came to Burnley and in the Petition of 1817 asking for the appointment of a priest to their newly-built Church in Burnley Wood, the Burnley Roman Catholics made mention of "the congregation which is almost daily increasing from every quarter, particularly from Ireland." As a consequence of the Potato Famine of 1845-6, more Irishmen emigrated and again there was an influx into Burnley. The existence of Irish Catholic Clubs and Irish Protestant Clubs (Orangemen) proved a constant source of trouble to the town authorities. Some of the Irish who came to Burnley at this time could not speak a word of English.

It is curious that no account of the reactions of Burnley people to the repeal of the Corn Laws has come down to us. In Colne there were big demonstrations to celebrate the event and it is unlikely that a Parliamentary measure of such importance to the working classes would pass unnoticed in

Burnley. Chartists and Anti-Corn Law Leaguers were not particularly friendly and therefore there may have been only a luke-warm support for Peel's policy in this district; on the other hand, Dr. Cook Taylor has recorded that Burnley artisans realised the force of Cobden's argument that the buying of foreign corn would encourage Lancashire's export trade.

Russell's Ministry of 1846-52 saw a crisis in the national religion. For some years, a dispute had been carried on between the Anglo-Catholic and the Evangelical sections of the English clergy. Many eminent churchmen joined the Roman Catholic Church and it was thought that a letter written from Rome was intended to mark the absorption of the English Church into the Roman Church. The quarrels became more bitter and the Catholics were attacked from pulpit and platform. In Burnley, the Reverend J. Bardsley, curate at St. Peter's, was very prominent in his defence of Protestantism both in his sermons and in his pamphlets. The opening of the Church of St. Mary coincided with the outburst against Catholicism and cries of "No Popery" were heard in Burnley. Similar scenes were witnessed in many other towns in England, and the Prime Minister, deferring to the outburst of intolerance, passed an Act to restrain Cardinal Wiseman (who had opened St. Mary's) from using English territorial names for the new bishoprics he was instituting.

CHAPTER XVI.

Conclusion.

This book has dealt with the history of Burnley from 1650 to 1850, a period of two hundred years which witnessed almost unbelievable changes in the town's development. From whatever standpoint the changes are considered, the contrast between Burnley in 1650 and in 1850 is very remarkable. In 1650 Burnley was a small, somewhat scattered market town; life was leisurely and unexciting except when religious or political differences gave an excuse for passionate outbursts; agriculture was the main occupation while spinning and weaving were mostly by-employments; the Church was still the sole important centre of religion and local government.

Gradually and almost imperceptibly, the textile industry replaced agriculture as the chief occupation of the people and spinning and weaving in cottages became far more important than work on the land. Then came the Industrial Revolution which altered in half a century 1800-1850 the entire character of Burnley. Factories took over the cottage industries, families from far and near flocked into the town to seek a living, and more and more houses were built.

Such great changes did not take place without creating unrest and difficulties. The almost new economic distinction between masters and workpeople was emphasised and led to untold bitterness and strife; immorality, disease and vice flourished in the crowded alleys and courts; the problem of poor relief seemed almost insuperable. To fight the evils, the new body of Methodists and Dissenters joined with Churchmen in a vigorous crusade; education was encouraged; social amenities were demanded; and self-help movements were inaugurated.

A democratic spirit was also noticeable in the new Burnley and the ancient Vestry at last surrendered its powers to Commissioners. The system of Government by Commissioners was far from democratic, but it was free from the parish and Church influence; the creation of a public ownership of water and gas was perhaps the greatest achievement of the Commissioners. The establishment of a Borough Council marked the final stage in the democratic control of Burnley.

The history of Burnley after 1850 is therefore the story of the expansion of the trades and industries already established, the prolongation of the quarrels between capital and labour, the fight of reformers and self-help movements to raise the moral tone of the people, and the vigorous efforts of the Borough Council to eradicate the evils of overcrowding and to introduce new schemes for social betterment.

APPENDIX I.

Names of some Tradesmen and Artisans, 1650-1700.

Weavers (Woollen).

Aspinall, W.
Clark, S.
Crabtree, T.
Deane, W.
Eastwood, J.
Greenwood, J.
Heap, R.
Hindley, J.
Ingham, J.
Nelson, R.
Sagar, O.
Smith, G.
Tattersall, J.
Taylor, R.

(Linen).

Bolton, T.
Cooper, G.
Hargreaves, R.
Jackson, N.
Lawson, W.
Pollard, R.
Walmesley, J.
Walton, Jno.
Walton, Jas.
Whittaker, W.
Wood, J.

Fullers.

Anderton, G.
Walton, R.

Dyers.

Clayton, J.
Gascoigne, W.
Harrison, W.
Holmes, J.
Laytwood, H.
Whittaker, Jno.
Whittaker, Rd.
Whittaker, Geo.

Mercers.

Halstead, J.
Mitchell, N.
Tattersall, R.
Towneley, L.

Clothiers.

Crook, A.
Hanson, R.
Hargher, R.
Hartley, J.
Haworth, H.
Ingham, J. & S.
Mitchell, R.
Sagar, R.

Merchant.

Holt, J.

Masons.

Ainsworth, J.
Ainsworth, M.
Birtwistle, O.
Dent, J.
Hargreaves, L.
Smith, J.
Tomlinson, J.

Slaters.

Cotton, A.
Cotton, R.
Cotton, J.
Eastwood, J.
Rishton, J.

Plasterers.

Etough, R.
Farrington, R.
Fletcher, Jno.
Fletcher, Jas.
Hurst, E.

Carpenters.

Aspden, Jonas.
Elliott, J.
Holt, J.
Lonsdale, W.
Pollard, G.
Smith, R.
Smith, Jno.
Smith, G.
Smith, T.
Smith, Jas.
Smith, Rob.
Tasker, E.
Whittaker, G.
Witt, J.
Wood, J.

Glaziers.

Bolton, B.
Bolton, J.
Bruer, Jos.
Bruer, Jno.
Bruer, T.
Ingham, J.

Coopers.

Bolton, W.
Bruer, J.
Fielden, R.
Hargreaves, J.
Ingham, J.
Law, J.
Smith, T.
Smith, Jno.
Smith, E.
Smith, Jer.

Turners.

Birtwistle, G.
Birtwistle, Ch.
Lancaster, J.
Midgecock, J.

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Hatters.

Crossley, R.
Dawson, R.
Pate, J.
Pickup, R.
Robinson, J.

Tailors.

Baron, J.
Booth, J.
Brigg, G.
Crossley, J.
Dugdale, J.
Etough, T.
Hall, R.
Halstead, H.
Hopwood, H.
Kenyon, J.
Parker, W.
Pullen, J.
Riley, J.
Riley, W.
Smith, R.
Spencer, G.
Thomas, W.
Topper, O.
Towers, J.
Walker, J.
Whittaker, H.

Shoemakers.

Alderson, J.
Folds, R.
Gabbott, W.
Hargreaves, H.
Harris, J.
Lawson, W.
Lonsdale, R.
Riding, T.
Smith, G.
Taylor, G.
Towneley, T.

Saddlers.

Fairbank, W.
Robinson, J.

Skinners.

Sagar, J.
Spragge, H.
Towers, A.

Tanners.

Brigg, D.
Dobson, J.
Hartley, J.
Holt, E.
Tattersall, R.
Wood, J.

Blacksmiths.

Bruer, N.
Clayton, L.
Clayton, H.
Hitchon, J.
Hitchon, P.
Smith, J.
Whittaker, G.
Whittaker, N.
Whittaker, R.
Wood, J.
Yates, J.

Cutlers.

Holt, J.
Robert, J.

Gunsmith.

Whittaker, J.

Wheelright.

Crawshaw, G.

Millers.

Barnes, J.
Charles, T.
Cowpe, J.
Hindley, R.
Hopkinson, J.
Riddihalg, J.
Taylor, J.
Taylor, H.

Grocer.

Elliott, J.

Shopkeeper.

Yates, W.

Butchers.

Boocock, J.
Broxup, J.
Cotton, J.
Cotton, T.
Leigh, J.
Smith, L.
Smith, H.
Smith, Jas.
Smith, Jno.
Thomas, A.
Thomas, J.
Thompson, E.

Innkeepers.

Bruer, E.
Charles, —
Dearden, G.
Hargreaves, J.
Slater, J.

Coalminers.

Cotton, E.
Jackson, N.
Parkinson, G.

Ballad-seller.

Poole, R.

Dogwhipper.

Bruer, E.

Musician.

Newton, M.

Gardener.

Wolles, T.

APPENDIX II.

Diary of William Varley of Higham.

MEMORANDUM BOOK.

FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1820.

Being Bissextile or Leap Year.

This year commences with very cold frosty weather. The ground is also covered deep with snow. The poor weaver is now very hard put to it, what (with) the rigour of the weather and the unrelenting hearts of our masters, whose avarice will not allow us above half wage; their money must be spent in other ways. They have about 200 soldiers of Infantry and Cavalry at their grand and populous but infamous town of Burnley. These soldiers must be maintained (even) if the poor weaver die at the looms. Cotton mills is now only to run 12 hours in a day and none is to work in them under nine years of age. This is by Act of Parliament and under a fine.

January 8th. A great talk of an advance of wages which was to take place this day, but all is a mistake. Alas, poor weaver, thy fond hopes of better days always proves abortive; distress and scorn is thy true companions; thy haggard and meagre looks plainly indicate thy hard usage and slavery, which knows no bounds.

Jan. 21st. A very stormy morning with an intensely cold east wind, and the snow falls very plentifully and lies very deep on the ground.

Jan. 29th. I am now going to describe something quite uncommon, for Padiham cotton masters has made a grand advance of wages; they are rising at a surprising rate of 3d. a cut 74's—a grand advance indeed.

Feb. 12th. A new cotton master comes to Wheatley Lane, but there is a great talk that those masters that has laid on (i.e., given a wage increase) will be obliged to lower it again, as those unhuman and relentless masters of Burnley will not advance; but, poor vassal, remember that a day will come when these base fiends shall meet their certain doom. Very fine weather about this time.

Feb. 16th. King George the Third this day enters the narrow house appointed for all living.

Feb. 24th. Some disturbance at London about this time; some lives is lost, as it is reported.(1)

March 2nd. Rough work at London about this time. Two of the reformers is taken and hanged.(2)

1. The Cato Street Conspiracy of physical force Radicals, under Thistlewood, to murder the whole Cabinet as it sat at dinner.

2. Thistlewood and four others were hanged; five others were transported for life.

March 16th. It is expected that Mr. Hunt will have his trial.⁽³⁾ There is also a great talk that he will be voted in for a Parliament man. Very fine weather (and) the farmer may now plow and till his land; but he now complains very hard because his butter will not sell for above 9d. a lb. in the market though his milk fetchers must give more, some is at 10½d. and others at 1/- a lb. All this the poor weaver has to bear and no hopes of better days. There is a talk of wages being still lower than they are at present.

March 25th This day John Moore⁽⁴⁾ lowers wages to 2/- and 2/3d. per cut 74's. Let us hope that other masters is not so void of humanity as to follow this bad example.

April 1st. There is now a great talk about Mr. Hunt. The report is that he is found guilty at York, but he is to be tried at London by the 12 judges.

April 7th. This morning the ground is white with snow, but it clears off by noon, tho' there is snow showers. News arrives from Lancaster Assizes. Mr. Knight is imprisoned two years for being speaker at Burnley radical meeting on the 15th of November, 1819,⁽⁵⁾ and more than him is put in prison. The country is all on an uproar; some say that Huddersfield Castle is pulled down. There is great disturbance in Scotland⁽⁶⁾ and Spain,⁽⁷⁾ and well there may be because there is no trade to be had. The poor man may now go to despair indeed for it appears very plain we must have no better days unless they be got by compulsion, and it is thought that they will, for it is reported that the Scots will shortly invade England and join the English Radicals.

April 15th. This day John Moore lies on⁽⁸⁾ 3d. per cut which he had pulled off because other masters will not follow this tyrannical and diabolical example.

April 17th. Richard Roberts, John Lancaster and David Howarth leaves the country, but where they are gone remains a secret, though it is said they are gone to the sea.

April 20th. This day Parliament meets. There is also a talk that wages will advance.

May 6th. This day there is an advance of wages. Padiham masters has laid on 6d. a cut 74's, while John Moore and the inhuman brutes of Burnley has only laid on 3d. a cut 74's.

May 9th. This day William Hargreaves lies on 3d. a cut.

May 11th. Thomas Kay⁽⁹⁾ delivers work out at Higham. It is now reported that Mr. Hunt is imprisoned for two years and bound to his good behaviour for five years more.

3. Mr. Hunt had been the chief speaker at the Manchester meeting of reformers on August 16th, 1819.

4. A Burnley manufacturer.

5. See p. 280.

6. Social disturbances.

7. Political disturbances.

8. "increases the rate of pay."

9. A Burnley manufacturer—gives work to domestic handloom weavers.

June 12th. Very fine sunny day, which is the first we have had this three weeks or more. There is a great talk about this time that the Corn-bill⁽¹⁰⁾ will be taken off. There is also great debates at London about the Queen what she must be done with,⁽¹¹⁾ for our King will not have her with him if he can hinder her.

June 24th. Very fine and hot weather commences but there is great uneasiness about the Queen; the Prince Regent will not have her and to crown him without her is very wrong. There is also talk that wages will be lowered.

July 3rd. Edmund Moore apprehended for paying bad money⁽¹²⁾ and sent to Lancaster.

August 3rd. Some of Burnley masters advances 74's 3d. per cut while others keeps back.

August 8th. William Hargreaves advances 3d. per cut 74's.

August 12th. John Moore advances 3d. per cut 74's.

August 26th. Some talk that wages will advance. Corn is got above the price of the corn-bill so that it has no power.⁽¹³⁾ Great uneasiness about our Queen as her trial has commenced.

September 18th. Edmund Moore is transported for life to Botany Bay.⁽¹⁴⁾

September 30th. Padiham masters advances 6d. per cut and some of Burnley masters advances 3d. per cut and others nothing.

October 3rd. William Hargreaves advances 3d. per cut for 74's.

October 7th. John Moore advances 3d. per cut. The weather is fine and the harvest is a great part of it got in; very good and ripe and in great plenty.

October 30th. It is now reported that they will bring our Queen in guilty.

November 13th. News arrives in Burnley that our Queen has got her trial and great luminating takes place for some days after in celebration thereof; but most of this is done by the commonalty for the nobility is afraid she will not favour their omnivorous views..

10. A proposal, which was not adopted, to revise the Corn Laws. These Laws prohibited the importation of foreign corn until the price of English-grown corn had reached 80/- a quarter.

11. George IV had treated his wife with callous cruelty and she had lived abroad for 20 years. When her husband succeeded to the throne, she returned to England and demanded recognition as Queen-Consort. The King persuaded his ministers to force through Parliament a Bill of Pains and Penalties to prevent her taking any part in public life. The majority of the nation took the Queen's side in a very undignified squabble. The Bill was withdrawn but the Queen lost some of her popularity by an unfortunate determination to force her way into Westminster Abbey during the Coronation of the King. "Queen" Caroline died the following year, 1821.

12. There was a great deal of bad money in circulation made by "coiners."

13. English corn had reached a price above 80/-; ports were therefore open to foreign corn.

14. Australia: a convict settlement.

November 21st. William Hargreaves advances 3d. per cut.

November 25th. John Moore advances 3d. per cut.

November 27th. Great luminating at Burnley this night for our Queen and to augment the scene they carry an image called "The Queen" in a conspicuous way through the town.

FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1821.

February 3rd. John Moore lowers wages 3d. per cut.

February 6th. Wm. Hargreaves lowers wages 3d. per cut and most of Burnley masters has lowered wages, though none else has, but these pernicious men of Burnley.

March 24th. This day Mr. Holt was for bateing me 3d. per cut at four pieces but I going for my reed am sent for back to take more work and they would not bate me.

April 1st. There is a talk about this time that wages will advance as cotton wool⁽¹⁵⁾ is now advancing.

May 25th. Very wet and the hills is white with snow and at night freezes so very hard that it kills the fruit and it snows the following day.

July 7th. This day John Moore lowers 74's 3d. a cut, but I hope that other masters will not follow the example of this wicked man who delights in distressing the poor.

July 19th. This day King George the fourth was crowned and there is great feasting and drinking at all the towns and hamlets round about but there is a party that is not content to have a King and no Queen for she is not crowned with her husband.

August 4th. This day John Moore lies on 3d. per cut which he had pulled off because other masters would not follow his wicked and diabolical example.

September 4th. This day Wm. Hargreaves livers⁽¹⁶⁾ 8 lb. 4 oz. of weft for a warp and gives 3/6d. per cut.⁽¹⁷⁾ There is talk that wages will advance.

September 10th. Very wet weather about this time, which makes meal and flour advance as the crop now wants cutting and cannot be cut for wet weather.

September 21st. The corn wants cutting.

October 8th. The weather begins to be fine for the harvest which wants it very ill.

October 20th. This day John Moore lowers wages 3d per cut.

15. Raw cotton.

16. "delivers."

17. Wages had increased from 2/- or 2/3d. to 3/6d. in the last year.

October 23rd. This day Wm. Hargreaves lowers wages 3d. per cut. The masters is now very bad to please and some of them is scant of work. There is some disturbance in Ireland about this time; but our landholders are very much disappointed as they expected grain would get up to a very high price; but it has pleased God to send us a very plentiful crop, though the weather has been very wet and unfavourable for reaping.

November 10th. This day John Moore lowers wages 3d. per cut and makes dreadful work of bateing his poor vassals.

November 13th. This day Wm. Hargreaves lowers wages 3d. per cut and livers 7 lb. 8 oz of weft for a warp and will have the pieces to weigh 4 lbs. . . . The poor weaver may now go to despair indeed for I think weaving was never worse .

Dec. 26th. . . . such a backend for wet was seldom known by our oldest men.

FOR THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1822.

January 1st. There is talk that wages will mend about this time, and Wm. Hargreaves livers 8 oz. less weft for a warp, which is some better but no more money must be had.

January 19th. There is talk that wages will rise for they have laid on at Blackburn. Very open weather and the birds sings in a morning as if it was the month of May.

February 6th. Very bad work in Ireland of murder and robbery.

March 5th. This morning at 1 o'clock, some person or persons did steal from me two hens and a cock.⁽¹⁸⁾

April 20th. The farmers are now in a great consternation for they are forced to lower their milk from three farthings a quart to 1/- for 20 quarts, and butter is only 10d. per lb. at Burnley but milk fetchers must give 1/- per lb.

April 27th. John Moore lowers wages 3d. per cut.

April 30th. Wm. Hargreaves lowers wages 3d. per cut.

June 11th. Wm. Hargreaves advances wages 3d. per cut. Very hot and dry weather for some time.

June 15th. John Moore advances wages 3d. per cut.

August 10th. There is great talk that wages will advance and Padiham masters and some others has laid on, but the satanical masters of Burnley will not advance.

August 20th. Wm. Hargreaves advances 3d. per cut. This advance is by force, for the country is full of new masters and plenty of good work.

18. The diarist also had a small garden.

October 6th. Wm. Roberts⁽¹⁹⁾ advances his milk to three farthings a quart from 20 quarts for 1/- and a part of his neighbours follow his diabolical example; but about Higham and that way, the farmers hold back.

October 30th. This day Mr. Hunt is liberated from Ilchester gaol and to commemorate this day there is drinking and shooting and from Padiham there goes a balloon.

November. 9th. There is a very great uproar about Mr. Berry of Sabden Bridge who is stopped and it is reported that he will bank⁽²⁰⁾ in a very large debt which puts the cotton masters into a great consternation; but, poor weaver, what must become of thee, for thou must pay for all.

November 16th. John Moore lowers wages 3d. per cut.

November 19th. Wm. Hargreaves lowers wages 3d. per cut.

FOR THE YEAR 1823.

January 8th. Elizabeth Varley⁽²¹⁾ departed this life.

February 8th. Thaw commences but it will be a long time before the ground will be clear from snow, for there is drifts two or three yards deep in some places.

May 3rd. John Moore lowers wages 3d. per cut 74's.

May 6th. Wm. Hargreaves lowers wages 3d. per cut.

June 16th. Blue milk is now lowering from three farthings a quart to twenty for a shilling.

July 12th. Very wet weather so there is no cutting of grass.

August 6th. Very wet weather and there is a very great quantity of hay to get, and corn is very late.

August 14th. The weather is still worse and worse, for it rains almost without intermission, so that the grass which is cut is almost nothing worth.

September 6th. The weather clears up and now the farmers finish their hay to their great joy.

November 22nd. John Moore lowers wages 3d. per cut.

December 9th. Wm. Hargreaves lowers wages 3d. per cut.

19. The landlord of the "Four Alls" at Higham, who supplied skimmed milk; tub butter was obtained from a local shop.

20. "becomes a bankrupt."

21. The little daughter of the diarist who died from consumption. The father bought a few quarts of new milk, a little quantity of ling liver oil (equivalent to cod liver oil) and a mustard plaster in an effort to arrest the disease.

FOR THE YEAR 1824.

- January 10th. John Moore advances wages 3d. per cut.
- January 27th. Wm. Hargreaves advances 3d. per cut, which he had inhumanly kept (back) when other masters had laid on.
- April 28th. There is now a very great uproar at Burnley, for John Moore, Holgate, Crook, and Masseys, are made bankrupt.⁽²²⁾
- June 15th. Wm. Hargreaves lowers wages 3d. per cut.
- August 2nd. Mr. Lancaster lowers wages 3d. per cut.
- August 23rd. Very seasonable weather and very good crops there is on the ground at present; meal and flour is got a little lower than what it has been; work is now very plentiful for there is two new masters coming to The Fence and there is great talk that wages will advance.
- September 2nd. They say there has been an earthquake about six miles east of Colne where a hill is burst and a great quantity of water issues out and does great damage.⁽²³⁾ There is thunder, lightning, and rain, as was seldom known.

1825.

- July 16th. Wm. Hargreaves lowers wages 3d. per cut. The weather is very hot and very fine for hay-time. This summer is very hot and dry and there is also a very good harvest time. The poor might hope for good days; but, alas, they do not come this year, for meal and flour is high, and wages is low, and, in December, work is very scarce, so the times is very bad for the poor.

1826.

This year commences with very cold frosty weather; there is a great many people that is poorly about this time, and well they may be, what with hard work and mean food; but there are many without work and what must become of them? They must lie down and die for anything that I know; for if they would beg, I know of none that will give anything; and if they would rob or plunder, they have the soldiers at Burnley ready to give them their last supper.

- January 28th. This day Wm. Hargreaves lowers wages 3d. per cut; they are now 1/9d. per cut for 6 lbs of weft to put in four cuts.⁽²⁴⁾

February 2nd. This day Parliament meets and there is a great number of petitions goes to implore them to take off the corn-bill; and now the country is all in an uproar, for there is not half work for the poor and many a family has none at all.

22. The bankruptcy of these large Burnley firms was due to the failure of Holgate's Bank. The proprietors of the Bank issued their own paper money without the full "backing" of gold or silver. On one occasion when traders went to the Bank to cash their paper money, the Bank could not find the necessary cash, and the paper money, which had circulated throughout the district, was valueless. Many who had invested their money in the Bank or had deposited it "on current account" also lost their wealth.
23. The Lothersdale cloud-burst.
24. Half the rate of pay given in 1821.

February 11th. No better but worse; more short of work; this day I got none at all; nor none have I at home.

March 11th. Wm. Hargreaves lowers wages 3d. per cut and there is not half enough work so that the whole country is all on an uproar for the poor weaver cannot get bread.

March 14th. There is some disturbance at Blackburn this day;⁽²⁵⁾ the poor people throw stones at the coach and break the windows.

April 18th. There is a great disturbance at Accrington; they break the windows where the steam looms are;⁽²⁶⁾ the country is all of an uproar for the poor weaver has neither work nor bread and the distress which prevails all over the country is very affecting and if they had work at 1/6d. a cut, and some masters pay only 1/3d. per cut, how must the poor get bread?

April 24th. This day the country rises in a great multitude and breaks the power looms at Accrington and Blackburn and many other places.

May 23rd. This day I received 9 lb. of meal of the donation from government, that is 3 lb. a head.⁽²⁷⁾

May 24th. This day I got work of Mr. Corlass, so now I hope through the mercy of God that I will be able to maintain life a little longer.

May 27th. This day Wm. Hargreaves never comes to Higham to his warehouse. The poor weavers wait a great part of the day and some carried their goods to Burnley.

June 3rd. This day there is a general lowering of wages; they are now 1/3d. a cut which has 64 picks in an inch. The poor weaver may now go to despair indeed, for if he has work, how must he get bread and there are a great number without work.

June 6th. This day I got 6 lbs. of meal of the donation from the government, that is, 2 lbs. per head.

June 13th. I got 6 lbs. of meal, that is, 2 lbs. a head.⁽²⁸⁾ The distress is still very great but I think there is rather more work than there has been.

June 20th. This day I got other 6 lb. of meal of the donation.

June 27th. This day I got 6 lbs. of meal of the donation.

July 1st. This day Mr. Corlass stints his weavers to half work. Meal and flour gets up a little for the drought is so great that there is not water enough to grind; corn was never known by our oldest men to shoot sooner that it does this year; there is scarcely a field in all our neighbourhood but what it all shot out but it is rather low.

July 5th. This day I got 7½ lbs. of dole meal.

July 11th. This day I got 9 lbs. of dole meal.

25. See p. 293.

26. See p. 291.

27. In 1820, Varley purchased 27 lbs of oatmeal for a family of four.

28. See note 27.

- July 15th. This day full 74's are lowered at some places to 9d. a cut and at others to 1/- a cut.
- July 19th. This day I got 6 lbs of the dole meal.
- July 26th. This day I got 6 lbs. of the dole meal.
- August 2nd. This day I got 6 lbs. of dole flour.
- August 8th. This day I got 6 lbs. of dole meal.
- August 12th. This day I got work of Roger Hartley; it is cop yarn 6 lb. 4 oz. of weft for a warp is 1 lb. 9 oz. for a cut and the weaving is 1/- per cut if it be well wove.
- August 15th. This day I got 6 lbs. of dole flour.
- August 19th. Wm. Hargreaves lets his old weavers have work and there is now more plenty of work in the country than there has been.
- September 16th. It was expected that an advance of wages would take place this day but not one has advanced, only Mr. Stuttard of Thorney Holme.
- October 7th. This day there has been a general advance in wages, 3d. a cut, though it comes very unwillingly for they seem determined to starve the poor weavers to death.
- November 11th. This day there is a general lowering of wages by 3d. a cut.
- December 23rd. This day Mr. Bolton and Mr. Corlass advances wages by 1½d. a cut.
- December 30th. This day Burnley cotton masters advances 3d. a cut.

FOR THE YEAR 1827.

- This year commences with very cold rough weather; sickness and disease also prevails very much, and well it may, the clamming and starving and hard working which the poor are now undergoing, it is no wonder if it should bring death itself.
- February. The weather is uncommon rough and severe the whole of the month; sickness and disorders of different kinds prevail very much. The pox and measles takes off the children by two or three a house; and well may they die, for there is no aid, no succour to be had for them; the times is no better for the poor; hunger and cold are our true companions.
- March. Sickness and distress still prevail and there is no advance of wages though the cotton masters are very fond of goods.
- March 31st. This day r. Hargreaves brings work to Higham but I think it is not for the good of the poor as pretended that they are come, but for their own benefit because they want goods.

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April 14th. There is an advance of wages at some places; some of the masters has advanced 1d. a cut, some 1½d., and others 3d.; there is another part of them that has done nothing. These satanical masters of Burnley and Padiham can do nothing for the poor weaver.

April 21st. This day Wm. Hargreaves advances 3d. a cut.

May 26th. There is an advance of wages, 3d. a cut.

July 28th. Wm. Hargreaves advances 3d. a cut.

August 27th. This day Mr. Green ascends in his balloon from Burnley Barracks.

FOR THE YEAR 1828.

January 4th. John Greenwood comes to Fence to put out work. There is also talk that wages will be advanced.

February 9th. Wm. Hargreaves advances wages 3d. a cut along with other masters of Burnley.

March 21st. This day John Greenwood lowers wages 1½d. a cut; but let us hope that other masters of Burnley will not follow this bad example.

March 29th. Wm. Hargreaves lowers wages 3d. a cut.

April 4th. John Greenwood lowers wages 1½d. a cut.

May. Very bad prospects for our trade; great houses at Manchester and London has failed.

May 16th. John Greenwood lowers wages 3d. a cut.

August 16th. Wm. Hargreaves advances wages 3d. a cut.

September 27th. Wm. Hargreaves lowers wages 3d. a cut.

November 15th. A general lowering of wages takes place this day.

November 18th. There is a very dreadful fever in this part of the country which (if it) continues to the end of the year and still rages in the beginning of the next, will take many to their long home.

1829.

March 4th. Wm. Hargreaves lowers wages 3d. a cut. They are now as low as they were in 1828.

May 5th. Very rough work at Manchester; they are breaking the power looms and the country is in an uproar for the weavers are almost starved to death for want of bread.

July 2nd. This day there is a dole of 3d. each a week at Higham for weavers.

July 13th. A dole of 3d. each at Higham.

July 27th. A dole at Higham, 3d. each person.

December 2nd. We got 1/6d. for our dole at Higham.

1830.

January 20th. There has not been such a winter for many years.

February 3rd. This day there is a dole at Higham of 3d. each person; and the poor have need of something to help them: the weather is very cold and a very thick snow lies on the ground at present.

February 16th. This day William Roberts from Burnley brings work to Bedium; there is a great talk of advance of wages.

March 6th. There is an advance of wages, $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. a cut.

March 20th. There is an advance of wages, $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. a cut.

March 29th. There is an advance of wages, $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. a cut.

July 31st. There is a general advance of wages, $1\frac{1}{2}$ d. a cut. The poor stand in need of it for provisions are got very high on account of the wet weather.

APPENDIX III.

Population.

(A) Census Returns:—

		Burnley Chapelry	Habergham Eaves	Ightenhill Park
1801	...	3305	1919	126
1811	...	4368	2839	107
1821	...	6378	4612	208
1831	...	7551	5817	164
1841	...	10669	8526	158
1851	...	14706	12549	176
1861	...	19971	18013	161
1871	...	21501	23423	149
1881	...	28744	35033	205
1891	...	39550	46930	519
1901	...	44045	52229	888

(B) Census Returns for the area covered by modern Burnley:—

1801	...	3918
1811	...	5405
1821	...	8242
1831	...	10026
1841	...	14228
1851	...	20828
1861	...	28700
1871	...	40858
1881	...	58882
1891	...	87016
1901	...	97043

(C) Burnley Poor Law Union—Returns:—

			Births	Deaths	Increase or Decrease
1843.	2nd Quarter	...	198	126	Inc. 72
	3rd	"	152	152	— 0
	4th	"	172	98	Inc. 74
1844.	1st	"	199	125	" 74
	2nd	"	207	121	" 86
	4th	"	201	133	" 68
1845.	1st	"	198	160	" 38
	2nd	"	198	162	" 36
	3rd	"	206	102	" 104
	4th	"	167	109	" 58
1846.	1st	"	189	169	" 20
	2nd	"	235	135	" 100
	3rd	"	229	147	" 82
	4th	"	199	241	Dec. 42
1847.	1st	"	230	224	Inc. 6
	2nd	"	253	161	" 92
	3rd	"	244	113	" 131
	4th	"	291	163	" 128

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